THE

ORY

OF

AMERICA.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY AT MADRID.

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1812.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK V. *continued.*

BOOK V.

1520. The proceedings of Narvaez. April.

AFTER a proſperous voyage, Narvaez landed his men without oppoſition near St. Juan de Ullua. Three ſoldiers, whom Cortes had ſent to ſearch for mines in that diſtrict, immediately joined him. By this accident he not only received information concerning the progreſs and ſituation of Cortes, but as theſe ſoldiers had made ſome progreſs in the knowledge of the Mexican language, he acquired interpreters, by whoſe means he was enabled to hold ſome intercourſe with the people of the country. But, according to the low cunning of deſerters, they framed their intelligence with more attention to what they thought would be agreeable, than to what they knew to be true; and repreſented the ſituation of Cortes to be ſo

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desperate, and the disaffection of his followers to be so general, as increased the natural confidence and presumption of Narvaez. His first operation, however, might have taught him not to rely on their partial accounts. Having sent to summon the governor of Vera Cruz to surrender, Guevara, a priest whom he employed in that service, made the requisition with such insolence, that Sandoval, an officer of high spirit, and zealously attached to Cortes, instead of complying with his demands, seized him and his attendants, and sent them in chains to Mexico.

Cortes deeply alarmed.

CORTES received them not like enemies, but as friends, and condemning the severity of Sandoval, set them immediately at liberty. By this well-timed clemency, seconded by caresses and presents, he gained their confidence, and drew from them such particulars concerning the force and intentions of Narvaez, as gave him a view of the impending danger in its full extent. He had not to contend now with half-naked Indians, no match for him in war, and still more inferior in the arts of policy, but to take the field against an army in courage and martial discipline equal to his own, in number far superior, acting under the sanction of royal authority, and commanded by an officer of known bravery.

He was informed that Narvaez, more solicitous to gratify the resentment of Velasquez, than attentive to the honour or interest of his country, had begun his intercourse with the natives, by representing him and his followers as fugitives and outlaws, guilty of rebellion against their own sovereign, and of injustice in invading the Mexican empire; and had declared that his chief object in visiting the country was to punish the Spaniards who had committed these crimes, and to rescue the Mexicans from oppression. He soon perceived that the same unfavourable representations of his character and actions had been conveyed to Montezuma, and that Narvaez had found means to assure him, that as the conduct of those who kept him under restraint was highly displeasing to the King his master, he had it in charge not only to rescue an injured monarch from confinement, but to reinstate him in the possession of his ancient power and independence. Animated with this prospect of being set free from subjection to strangers, the Mexicans in several provinces began openly to revolt from Cortes, and to regard Narvaez as a deliverer no less able than willing to save them. Montezuma himself kept up a secret intercourse with the new commander, and seemed to court him as a

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perſon ſuperior in power and dignity to thoſe Spaniards whom he had hitherto revered as the firſt of men [a].

His deliberations concerning his own conduct.

SUCH were the various aſpects of danger and difficulty which preſented themſelves to the view of Cortes. No ſituation can be conceived more trying to the capacity and firmneſs of a general, or where the choice of the plan which ought to be adopted was more difficult. If he ſhould wait the approach of Narvaez in Mexico, deſtruction ſeemed to be unavoidable; for while the Spaniards preſſed him from without, the inhabitants, whoſe turbulent ſpirit he could hardly reſtrain with all his authority and attention, would eagerly lay hold on ſuch a favourable opportunity of avenging all their wrongs. If he ſhould abandon the capital, ſet the captive monarch at liberty, and march out to meet the enemy; he muſt at once forego the fruits of all his toils and victories, and relinquiſh advantages which could not be recovered without extraordinary efforts, and infinite danger. If, inſtead of employing force, he ſhould have recourſe to conciliating meaſures, and attempt an accommodation with Narvaez; the natural haughtineſs of that officer, augmented by con-

[a] See NOTE I.

ſciouſneſs

ciousneſs of his preſent ſuperiority, forbad him to cheriſh any ſanguine hope of ſucceſs. After revolving every ſcheme with deep attention, Cortes fixed upon that which in execution was moſt hazardous, but, if ſucceſsful, would prove moſt beneficial to himſelf and to his country; and with the deciſive intrepidity ſuited to deſperate ſituations, determined to make one bold effort for victory under every diſadvantage, rather than ſacrifice his own conqueſts and the Spaniſh intereſt in Mexico. 1520.

His negociations with the followers of Narvaez.

But though he foreſaw that the conteſt muſt be terminated finally by arms, it would have been not only indecent, but criminal, to have marched againſt his countrymen, without attempting to adjuſt matters by an amicable negociation. In this ſervice he employed Olmedo, his chaplain, to whoſe character the function was well ſuited, and who poſſeſſed, beſides, ſuch prudence and addreſs as qualified him to carry on the ſecret intrigues in which Cortes placed his chief confidence. Narvaez rejected, with ſcorn, every ſcheme of accommodation that Olmedo propoſed, and was with difficulty reſtrained from laying violent hands on him and his attendants. He met, however, with a more favourable reception among the followers of Narvaez, to many of whom he delivered letters, either from Cortes or his

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officers, their ancient friends and companions. Cortes artfully accompanied theſe with preſents of rings, chains of gold, and other trinkets of value, which inſpired thoſe needy adventurers with high ideas of the wealth that he had acquired, and with envy of their good fortune who were engaged in his ſervice. Some, from hopes of becoming ſharers in thoſe rich ſpoils, declared for an immediate accommodation with Cortes. Others, from public ſpirit, laboured to prevent a civil war, which, whatever party ſhould prevail, muſt ſhake, and perhaps ſubvert the Spaniſh power, in a country where it was ſo imperfectly eſtabliſhed. Narvaez diſregarded both, and by a public proclamation denounced Cortes and his adherents rebels and enemies to their country. Cortes, it is probable, was not much ſurpriſed at the untractable arrogance of Narvaez; and, after having given ſuch a proof of his own pacific diſpoſition as might juſtify his recourſe to other means, he determined to advance towards an enemy whom he had laboured in vain to appeaſe.

Marches againſt him. May.

He left a hundred and fifty men in the capital, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, an officer of diſtinguiſhed courage, for whom the Mexicans had conceived a ſingular degree of reſpect. To the cuſtody of this ſlender

ſlender garriſon he committed a great city, with all the wealth he had amaſſed, and, what was ſtill of greater importance, the perſon of the impriſoned monarch. His utmoſt art was employed in concealing from Montezuma the real cauſe of his march. He laboured to perſuade him, that the ſtrangers who had lately arrived were his friends and fellow-ſubjects; and that, after a ſhort interview with them, they would depart together, and return to their own country. The captive prince, unable to comprehend the deſigns of the Spaniard, or to reconcile what he now heard with the declarations of Narvaez, and afraid to diſcover any ſymptom of ſuſpicion or diſtruſt of Cortes, promiſed to remain quietly in the Spaniſh quarters, and to cultivate the ſame friendſhip with Alvarado which he had uniformly maintained with him. Cortes, with ſeeming confidence in this promiſe, but relying principally upon the injunctions which he had given Alvarado to guard his priſoner with the moſt ſcrupulous vigilance, ſet out from Mexico. BOOK V. 1520.

Number of his troops.

His ſtrength, even after it was reinforced by the junction of Sandoval and the garriſon of Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. As he hoped for ſucceſs chiefly from the rapidity of his motions, his troops were not incumbered either with baggage or

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artillery. But as he dreaded extremely the impreſſion which the enemy might make with their cavalry, he had provided againſt this danger with the foreſight and ſagacity which diſtinguiſh a great commander. Having obſerved that the Indians in the province of Chinantla uſed ſpears of extraordinary length and force, he armed his ſoldiers with theſe, and accuſtomed them to that deep and compact arrangement which the uſe of this formidable weapon, the beſt perhaps that ever was invented for defence, enabled them to aſſume.

Continues to negociate as he advanced.

WITH this ſmall but firm battalion, Cortes advanced towards Zempoalla, of which Narvaez had taken poſſeſſion. During his march, he made repeated attempts towards ſome accommodation with his opponent. But Narvaez requiring that Cortes and his followers ſhould inſtantly recognize his title to be governor of New Spain, in virtue of the powers which he derived from Velaſquez; and Cortes refuſing to ſubmit to any authority which was not founded on a commiſſion from the Emperor himſelf, under whoſe immediate protection he and his adherents had placed their infant colony; all theſe attempts proved fruitleſs. The intercourſe, however, which this occaſioned between the two parties, proved

proved of no ſmall advantage to Cortes, as it afforded him an opportunity of gaining ſome of Narvaez's officers by liberal preſents, of ſoftening others by a ſemblance of moderation, and of dazzling all by the appearance of wealth among his troops, moſt of his ſoldiers having converted their ſhare of the Mexican gold into chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, which they diſplayed with military oſtentation. Narvaez and a little junto of his creatures excepted, all the army leaned towards an accommodation with their countrymen. This diſcovery of their inclination irritated his violent temper almoſt to madneſs. In a tranſport of rage, he ſet a price upon the head of Cortes, and of his principal officers; and having learned that he was now advanced within a league of Zempoalla with his ſmall body of men, he conſidered this as an inſult which merited immediate chaſtiſement, and marched out with all his troops to offer him battle. 1520.

Attacks Narvaez in the night.

But Cortes was a leader of greater abilities and experience than, on equal ground, to fight an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number, and ſo much better appointed. Having taken his ſtation on the oppoſite bank of the river de Canoas, where he knew that he could not be attacked, he beheld the approach of the enemy without concern, and diſregarded this vain bravade.

BOOK V. 1520. bravade. It was then the beginning of the wet ſeaſon[b], and the rain had poured down, during a great part of the day, with the violence peculiar to the torrid zone. The followers of Narvaez, unaccuſtomed to the hardſhips of military ſervice, murmured ſo much at being thus fruitleſsly expoſed, that, from their unſoldier-like impatience, as well as his own contempt of his adverſary, their general permitted them to retire to Zempoalla. The very circumſtance which induced them to quit the field, encouraged Cortes to form a ſcheme, by which he hoped at once to terminate the war. He obſerved, that his hardy veterans, though ſtanding under the torrents, which continued to fall, without a ſingle tent or any ſhelter whatſoever to cover them, were ſo far from repining at hardſhips which were become familiar to them, that they were ſtill freſh and alert for ſervice. He foreſaw that the enemy would naturally give themſelves up to repoſe after their fatigue, and that, judging of the conduct of others by their own effeminacy, they would deem themſelves perfectly ſecure at a ſeaſon ſo unfit for action. He reſolved, therefore, to fall upon them in the dead of night, when the ſurpriſe and terror of this unexpected attack might more than compenſate the inferiority of his numbers. His ſoldiers, ſenſible that

[b] Hackluyt, vol. iii. 467. De Laet Deſcr. Ind. Occid. 221.

no

no reſource remained but in ſome deſperate effort of courage, approved of the meaſure with ſuch warmth, that Cortes, in a military oration which he addreſſed to them before they began their march, was more ſolicitous to temper than to inflame their ardour. He divided them into three parties. At the head of the firſt he placed Sandoval; entruſting this gallant officer with the moſt dangerous and important ſervice, that of ſeizing the enemy's artillery, which was planted before the principal tower of the temple, where Narvaez had fixed his head-quarters. Chriſtoval de Olid commanded the ſecond, with orders to aſſault the tower, and lay hold on the general. Cortes himſelf conducted the third and ſmalleſt diviſion, which was to act as a body of reſerve, and to ſupport the other two as there ſhould be occaſion. Having paſſed the river de Canoas, which was much ſwelled with the rains, not without difficulty, the water reaching almoſt to their chins, they advanced in profound ſilence, without beat of drum, or ſound of any warlike inſtrument; each man armed with his ſword, his dagger, and his Chinantlan ſpear. Narvaez, remiſs in proportion to his ſecurity, had poſted only two centinels to watch the motions of an enemy whom he had ſuch good cauſe to dread. One of theſe was ſeized by the advanced guard of Cortes's troops, the other

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BOOK V. 1520. other made his escape, and hurrying to the town with all the precipitation of fear and zeal gave such timely notice of the enemy's approach, that there was full leisure to have prepared for their reception. But, through the arrogance and infatuation of Narvaez, this important interval was lost. He imputed this alarm to the cowardice of the centinel, and treated with derision the idea of being attacked by forces so unequal to his own. The shouts of Cortes's soldiers, rushing on to the assault, convinced him at last that the danger which he despised was real. The rapidity with which they advanced was such, that only one cannon could be fired, before Sandoval's party closed with the enemy, drove them from their guns, and began to force their way up the steps of the tower. Narvaez, no less brave in action than presumptuous in conduct, armed himself in haste, and by his voice and example animated his men to the combat. Olid advanced to sustain his companions; and Cortes himself rushing to the front, conducted and added new vigour to the attack. The compact order in which this small body pressed on, and the impenetrable front which they presented with their long spears, bore down all opposition before it. They had now reached the gate, and were struggling to burst it open, when a soldier having set fire

and overcomes him.

fire to the reeds with which the tower was covered, compelled Narvaez to ſally out. In the firſt encounter he was wounded in the eye with a ſpear, and falling to the ground, was dragged down the ſteps, and in a moment clapt in fetters. The cry of victory reſounded among the troops of Cortes. Thoſe who had ſallied out with their leader now maintained the conflict feebly, and began to ſurrender. Among the remainder of his ſoldiers, ſtationed in two ſmaller towers of the temple, terror and confuſion prevailed. The darkneſs was ſo great, that they could not diſtinguiſh between their friends and foes. Their own artillery was pointed againſt them. Wherever they turned their eyes, they beheld lights gleaming through the obſcurity of night, which, though proceeding only from a variety of ſhining inſects, that abound in moiſt and ſultry climates, their affrighted imaginations repreſented as numerous bands of muſketeers advancing with kindled matches to the attack. After a ſhort reſiſtance, the ſoldiers compelled their officers to capitulate, and before morning all laid down their arms, and ſubmitted quietly to their conquerors. BOOK V. 1520.

THIS complete victory proved more acceptable, as it was gained almoſt without bloodſhed, only two ſoldiers being killed on the ſide of The effects of this victory.

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of Cortes, and two officers, with fifteen private men, of the adverſe faction. Cortes treated the vanquiſhed not like enemies, but as countrymen and friends, and offered either to ſend them back directly to Cuba, or to take them into his ſervice, as partners in his fortune, on equal terms with his own ſoldiers. This latter propoſition, ſeconded by a ſeaſonable diſtribution of ſome preſents from Cortes, and liberal promiſes of more, opened proſpects ſo agreeable to the romantic expectations which had invited them to engage in this ſervice, that all, a few partizans of Narvaez excepted, cloſed with it, and vied with each other in profeſſions of fidelity and attachment to a general, whoſe recent ſucceſs had given them ſuch a ſtriking proof of his abilities for command. Thus, by a ſeries of events no leſs fortunate than uncommon, Cortes not only eſcaped from perdition which ſeemed inevitable, but, when he had leaſt reaſon to expect it, was placed at the head of a thouſand Spaniards, ready to follow wherever he ſhould lead them. Whoever reflects upon the facility with which this victory was obtained, or conſiders with what ſudden and unanimous tranſition the followers of Narvaez ranged themſelves under the ſtandard of his rival, will be apt to aſcribe both events as much to the intrigues as to the arms of Cortes, and cannot but ſuſpect that the ruin of Narvaez was occa-

occaſioned, no leſs by the treachery of his own followers, than by the valour of the enemy[c]. BOOK V. 1520.

But, in one point, the prudent conduct and good fortune of Cortes were equally conſpicuous. If, by the rapidity of his operations after he began his march, he had not brought matters to ſuch a ſpeedy iſſue, even this deciſive victory would have come too late to have ſaved his companions whom he left in Mexico. A few days after the diſcomfiture of Narvaez, a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and having ſeized and deſtroyed the two brigantines, which Cortes had built in order to ſecure the command of the lake, and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed ſeveral of them, and wounded more, had reduced to aſhes their magazine of proviſions, and carried on hoſtilities with ſuch fury, that though Alvarado and his men defended themſelves with undaunted reſolution, they muſt either be ſoon cut off by famine, or ſink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it ſtill more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Zempoalla, the Mexicans flattered themſelves, that the long expected opportunity of reſtoring their ſovereign The Mexicans take arms againſt the Spaniards.

[c] Cortes Relat. 242. D. B. Diaz. c. 110—125. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. ix. c. 18, &c. Gomara Chron. c. 97, &c.

to

BOOK V. 1520. to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of ſtrangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppreſſors were divided, and the arms of one party turned againſt the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Conſultations were held, and ſchemes formed with this intention. The Spaniards in Mexico, conſcious of their own feebleneſs, ſuſpected and dreaded thoſe machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, poſſeſſed neither that extent of capacity, nor dignity of manners, by which Cortes had acquired ſuch an aſcendant over the minds of the Mexicans, as never allowed them to form a juſt eſtimate of his weakneſs or of their own ſtrength. Alvarado knew no mode of ſupporting his authority but force. Inſtead of employing addreſs to diſconcert the plans, or to ſooth the ſpirits of the Mexicans, he waited the return of one of their ſolemn feſtivals, when the principal perſons in the empire were dancing, according to cuſtom, in the court of the great temple; he ſeized all the avenues which led to it, and, allured partly by the rich ornaments which they wore in honour of their gods, and partly by the facility of cutting off at once the authors of that conſpiracy which he dreaded, he fell upon them, unarmed and unſuſpicious of any danger, and maſſacred a

great number, none eſcaping but ſuch as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action ſo cruel and treacherous filled not only the city, but the whole empire with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardleſs of the ſafety of their monarch, whoſe life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in aſſaulting an enemy who had been ſo long the object of their terror, they committed all thoſe acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

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To him the danger appeared ſo imminent, as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He ſet out inſtantly with all his forces, and returned from Zempoalla with no leſs rapidity than he had advanced thither. At Tlaſcala he was joined by two thouſand choſen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories he found that diſaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deſerted the towns through which he paſſed; no perſon of note appearing to meet him with the uſual reſpect; no proviſion was made for the ſubſiſtence of his troops; and though he was permitted to advance without oppoſition, the ſolitude and ſilence which reigned in every place, and the horror with which the people avoided all intercourſe with him, diſcovered a deep-rooted antipathy, that

He marches back to the capital.

BOOK V. excited the moſt juſt alarm. But implacable as the enmity of the Mexicans was, they were ſo unacquainted with the ſcience of war, that they knew not how to take the proper meaſures, either for their own ſafety or the deſtruction of the Spaniards. Uninſtructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, inſtead of breaking down the cauſeways and bridges, by which they might have incloſed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually ſtopped the career of Cortes, they again ſuffered him to march into the city without moleſtation, and to take quiet poſſeſſion of his ancient ſtation.

1520.

June 24.

Improper conduct of Cortes.

THE tranſports of joy with which Alvarado and his ſoldiers received their companions cannot be expreſſed. Both parties were ſo much elated, the one with their ſeaſonable deliverance, and the other with the great exploits which they had atchieved, that this intoxication of ſucceſs ſeems to have reached Cortes himſelf; and he behaved on this occaſion neither with his uſual ſagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to viſit Montezuma, but embittered the inſult by expreſſions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people. The forces of which he had now the command, appeared to him ſo irreſiſtible, that he might aſſume an higher tone, and lay aſide

aſide the maſk of moderation, under which he had hitherto concealed his deſigns. Some Mexicans who underſtood the Spaniſh language, heard the contemptuous words which Cortes uttered, and reporting them to their countrymen, kindled their rage anew. They were now convinced that the intentions of the general were equally bloody with thoſe of Alvarado, and that his original purpoſe in viſiting their country, had not been, as he pretended, to court the alliance of their ſovereign, but to attempt the conqueſt of his dominions. They reſumed their arms with the additional fury which this diſcovery inſpired, attacked a conſiderable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great ſquare in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with ſome loſs. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, and delighted to find that their oppreſſors were not invincible, they advanced next day with extraordinary martial pomp to aſſault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage ſtill more ſo. Though the artillery pointed againſt their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow ſtreets, ſwept off multitudes at every diſcharge; though every blow of the Spaniſh weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuoſity of the aſſault did not abate. Freſh

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The violent hoſtility of the Mexicans.

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men ruſhed forward to occupy the places of the ſlain, and meeting with the ſame fate, were ſucceeded by others no leſs intrepid and eager for vengeance. The utmoſt efforts of Cortes's abilities and experience, ſeconded by the diſciplined valour of his troops, were hardly ſufficient to defend the fortifications, that ſurrounded the poſt where the Spaniards were ſtationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

Diſtreſs of the Spaniards.

CORTES beheld, with wonder, the implacable ferocity of a people who ſeemed at firſt to ſubmit tamely to the yoke, and had continued ſo long paſſive under it. The ſoldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to ſhare in the ſpoils of a conquered empire, were aſtoniſhed to find that they were involved in a dangerous war, with an enemy whoſe vigour was ſtill unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakneſs, in giving ſuch eaſy credit to the deluſive promiſes of their new leader[d]. But ſurpriſe and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was requiſite to extricate themſelves out of their preſent ſituation. As ſoon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance

[d] B. Diaz. c. 126.

with

with their national cuſtom of ceaſing from hoſtilities with the ſetting ſun, Cortes began to prepare for a ſally, next day, with ſuch a conſiderable force, as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to liſten to terms of accommodation.

Cortes attacks them without ſucceſs.

He conducted, in perſon, the troops deſtined for this important ſervice. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution, ſuggeſted by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting, were employed to inſure ſucceſs. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppoſe him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by freſh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animoſity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their prieſts, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods, and in preſence of their wives and children. Notwithſtanding their numbers, and enthuſiaſtic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could cloſe with them, the ſuperiority of their diſcipline and arms obliged the Mexicans to give way. But in narrow ſtreets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, the Spaniards could ſeldom come to a fair rencounter

BOOK V. 1520. with the enemy, and as they advanced, were expoſed to ſhowers of arrows and ſtones from the tops of houſes. After a day of inceſſant exertion, though vaſt numbers of the Mexicans fell, and part of the city was burnt, the Spaniards, weary with the ſlaughter, and haraſſed by multitudes which ſucceſſively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accompliſhed nothing ſo deciſive as to compenſate the unuſual calamity of having twelve ſoldiers killed, and above ſixty wounded. Another ſally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himſelf was wounded in the hand.

Montezuma ſlain. CORTES now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was ſatisfied that he could neither maintain his preſent ſtation in the centre of an hoſtile city, nor retire from it without the moſt imminent danger. One reſource ſtill remained, to try what effect the interpoſition of Montezuma might have to ſoothe or overawe his ſubjects. When the Mexicans approached next morning to renew the aſſault, that unfortunate prince, at the mercy of the Spaniards, and reduced to the ſad neceſſity of becoming the inſtrument of his own diſgrace, and of the ſlavery of his

people[c], advanced to the battlements in his royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he uſed to appear on ſolemn occaſions. At ſight of their ſovereign, whom they had long been accuſtomed to honour, and almoſt to revere as a god, the weapons dropt from their hands, every tongue was ſilent, all bowed their heads, and many proſtrated themſelves on the ground. Montezuma addreſſed them with every argument that could mitigate their rage, or perſuade them to ceaſe from hoſtilities. When he ended his diſcourſe, a ſullen murmur of diſapprobation run through the ranks; to this ſucceeded reproaches and threats; and the fury of the multitude riſing in a moment above every reſtraint of decency or reſpect, flights of arrows and volleys of ſtones poured in ſo violently upon the ramparts, that before the Spaniſh ſoldiers, appointed to cover Montezuma with their bucklers, had time to lift them in his defence, two arrows wounded the unhappy monarch, and the blow of a ſtone on his temple ſtruck him to the ground. On ſeeing him fall, the Mexicans were ſo much aſtoniſhed, that with a tranſition not uncommon in popular tumults, they paſſed in a moment from one extreme to the other, remorſe ſucceeded to inſult, and they fled with horror, as if the vengeance of Heaven were purſuing

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[c] See NOTE II.

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the crime which they had committed. The Spaniards without moleſtation carried Montezuma to his apartments, and Cortes haſtened thither to conſole him under his misfortune. But the unhappy monarch now perceived how low he was ſunk, and the haughty ſpirit which ſeemed to have been ſo long extinct, returning, he ſcorned to ſurvive this laſt humiliation, and to protract an ignominious life, not only as the priſoner and tool of his enemies, but as the object of contempt or deteſtation among his ſubjects. In a tranſport of rage he tore the bandages from his wounds, and refuſed, with ſuch obſtinacy, to take any nouriſhment, that he ſoon ended his wretched days, rejecting with diſdain all the ſolicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Chriſtian faith.

New conflicts.

Upon the death of Montezuma, Cortes having loſt all hope of bringing the Mexicans to an accommodation, ſaw no proſpect of ſafety but in attempting a retreat, and began to prepare for it. But a ſudden motion of the Mexicans engaged him in new conflicts. They took poſſeſſion of a high tower in the great temple which overlooked the Spaniſh quarters, and placing there a garriſon of their principal warriors, not a Spaniard could ſtir without being expoſed to their miſſile weapons. From this poſt it was neceſſary to diſlodge them

them at any riſk; and Juan de Eſcobar, with a numerous detachment of choſen ſoldiers, was ordered to make the attack. But Eſcobar, though a gallant officer, and at the head of troops accuſtomed to conquer, and who now fought under the eyes of their countrymen, was thrice repulſed. Cortes, ſenſible that not only the reputation, but the ſafety of his army depended on the ſucceſs of this aſſault, ordered a buckler to be tied to his arm, as he could not manage it with his wounded hand, and ruſhed with his drawn ſword into the thickeſt of the combatants. Encouraged by the preſence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with ſuch vigour, that they gradually forced their way up the ſteps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower. There a dreadful carnage began, when two young Mexicans of high rank, obſerving Cortes as he animated his ſoldiers by his voice and example, reſolved to ſacrifice their own lives in order to cut off the author of all the calamities which deſolated their country. They approached him in a ſupplicant poſture, as if they had intended to lay down their arms, and ſeizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themſelves headlong, in hopes of dragging him along to be daſhed in pieces by the ſame fall. But

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Cortes,

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Cortes, by his ſtrength and agility, broke looſe from their graſp, and the gallant youths periſhed in this generous though unſucceſsful attempt to ſave their country [f]. As ſoon as the Spaniards became maſters of the tower, they ſet fire to it, and, without farther moleſtation, continued the preparations for their retreat.

The Spaniards abandon the city.

THIS became the more neceſſary, as the Mexicans were ſo much aſtoniſhed at the laſt effort of the Spaniſh valour, that they began to change their whole ſyſtem of hoſtility, and, inſtead of inceſſant attacks, endeavoured, by barricading the ſtreets, and breaking down the cauſeways, to cut off the communication of the Spaniards with the continent, and thus to ſtarve an enemy whom they could not ſubdue. The firſt point to be determined by Cortes and his followers, was, whether they ſhould march out openly in the face of day, when they could diſcern every danger, and ſee how to regulate their own motions, as well as

[f] M. Clavigero has cenſured me with aſperity for relating this gallant action of the two Mexicans, and for ſuppoſing that there were battlements round the temple of Mexico. I related the attempt to deſtroy Cortes on the authority of Her. dec. 2. lib. x. c. 9. and of Torquemado, lib. 4. c. 69. I followed them likewiſe in ſuppoſing the uppermoſt platform of the temple to be encompaſſed by a battlement or rail.

how

how to reſiſt the aſſaults of the enemy; or, whether they ſhould endeavour to retire ſecretly in the night? The latter was preferred, partly from hopes that their national ſuperſtition would reſtrain the Mexicans from venturing to attack them in the night, and partly from their own fond belief in the predictions of a private ſoldier, who having acquired univerſal credit by a ſmattering of learning, and his pretenſions to aſtrology, boldly aſſured his countrymen of ſucceſs, if they made their retreat in this manner. They began to move, towards midnight, in three diviſions. Sandoval led the van; Pedro Alvarado, and Velaſquez de Leon, had the conduct of the rear; and Cortes commanded in the centre, where he placed the priſoners, among whom were a ſon and two daughters of Montezuma, together with ſeveral Mexicans of diſtinction, the artillery, the baggage, and a portable bridge of timber, intended to be laid over the breaches in the cauſeway. They marched in profound ſilence along the cauſeway which led to Tacuba, becauſe it was ſhorter than any of the reſt, and lying moſt remote from the road towards Tlaſcala and the ſea-coaſt, had been left more entire by the Mexicans. They reached the firſt breach in it without moleſtation, hoping that their retreat was undiſcovered.

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But

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1520. Attacked by the Mexicans.

But the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper diſpoſitions for a moſt formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horſes and artillery along it, they were ſuddenly alarmed with a tremendous ſound of warlike inſtruments, and a general ſhout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows, and ſhowers of ſtones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans ruſhing forward to the charge with fearleſs impetuoſity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged ſo faſt into the ſtones and mud, that it was impoſſible to remove it. Diſmayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the ſecond breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every ſide, and though they defended themſelves with their uſual courage, yet crouded together as they were on a narrow cauſeway, their diſcipline and military ſkill were of little avail, nor did the obſcurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their fire-arms, or the ſuperiority of their other weapons. All Mexico was now in arms, and ſo eager were the people on the deſtruction of their oppreſſors,

oppreſſors, that they who were not near enough to annoy them in perſon, impatient of the delay, preſſed forward with ſuch ardour, as drove on their countrymen in the front with irreſiſtible violence. Freſh warriors inſtantly filled the place of ſuch as fell. The Spaniards, weary with ſlaughter, and unable to ſuſtain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confuſion was univerſal; horſe and foot, officers and ſoldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought, and many fell, they could hardly diſtinguiſh from what hand the blow came. 1520.

Their diſaſters,

CORTES, with about a hundred foot ſoldiers and a few horſe, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the cauſeway, the bodies of the dead ſerving to fill up the chaſms, and reached the main land. Having formed them as ſoon as they arrived, he returned with ſuch as were yet capable of ſervice, to aſſiſt his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his preſence and example, to perſevere in the efforts requiſite to effect it. He met with part of his ſoldiers, who had broke through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their agreſſors, or periſhing in the lake; and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the

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Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be ſacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had eſcaped aſſembled at Tacuba. But when the morning dawned, and diſcovered to the view of Cortes, his ſhattered battalion, reduced to leſs than half its number, the ſurvivors dejected, and moſt of them covered with wounds, the thoughts of what they had ſuffered, and the remembrance of ſo many faithful friends and gallant followers who had fallen in that night of ſorrow[g], pierced his ſoul with ſuch anguiſh, that while he was forming their ranks, and iſſuing ſome neceſſary orders, his ſoldiers obſerved the tears trickling from his eyes, and remarked, with much ſatisfaction, that while attentive to the duties of a general, he was not inſenſible to the feelings of a man.

and loſs.

In this fatal retreat many officers of diſtinction periſhed[h], and among theſe Velaſquez de Leon, who having forſaken the party of his kinſman, the governor of Cuba, to follow the fortune of his companions, was, on that account, as well as for his ſuperior merit, reſpected by them as the ſecond perſon in the army. All the artillery, ammunition, and bag-

[g] *Noche Triſte* is the name by which it is ſtill diſtinguiſhed in New Spain.

[h] See NOTE III.

gage,

gage, were loſt; the greater part of the horſes, and above two thouſand Tlaſcalans, were killed, and only a very ſmall portion of the treaſure which they had amaſſed was ſaved. This, which had been always their chief object, proved a great cauſe of their calamity; for many of the ſoldiers having ſo over-loaded themſelves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action, and retarded their flight, fell, ignominiouſly, the victims of their own inconſiderate avarice. Amidſt ſo many diſaſters, it was ſome conſolation to find that Aguilar and Marina, whoſe function as intrepreters was of ſuch eſſential importance, had made their eſcape[1].

1520.

Difficult retreat of the Spaniards.

THE firſt care of Cortes was to find ſome ſhelter for his wearied troops; for as the Mexicans infeſted them on every ſide, and the people of Tacuba began to take arms, he could not continue in his preſent ſtation. He directed his march towards the riſing ground, and having fortunately diſcovered a temple ſituated on an eminence, took poſſeſſion of it. There he found not only the ſhelter for which he wiſhed, but, what was no leſs wanted, ſome proviſions to refreſh his men; and though the enemy did

[1] Cortes Relat. p. 248. B. Diaz. c. 128. Gomara Cron. c. 109. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 11, 12.

not

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not intermit their attacks throughout the day, they were with leſs difficulty prevented from making any impreſſion. During this time Cortes was engaged in deep conſultation with his officers, concerning the route which they ought to take in their retreat. They were now on the weſt ſide of the lake. Tlaſcala, the only place where they could hope for a friendly reception, lay about ſixty-four miles to the eaſt of Mexico[k]; ſo that they were obliged to go round the north end of the lake before they could fall into the road which led thither. A Tlaſcalan ſoldier undertook to be their guide, and conducted them through a country, in ſome places marſhy, in others mountainous, in all ill-cultivated and thinly peopled. They marched for ſix days with little reſpite, and under continual alarms, numerous bodies of the Mexicans hovering around them, ſometimes haraſſing them at a diſtance with their miſſile weapons, and ſometimes attacking them cloſely in front, in rear, in flank, with great boldneſs, as they now knew that they were not invincible. Nor were the fatigue and danger of thoſe inceſſant conflicts the worſt evils to which they were expoſed. As the barren country through which they paſſed afforded hardly any proviſions, they were reduced

[k] Villa Segnor Teatro Americanos, lib. ii. c. 11.

to

to feed on berries, roots, and the ſtalks of green maize; and at the very time that famine was depreſſing their ſpirits and waſting their ſtrength, their ſituation required the moſt vigorous and unremitting exertions of courage and activity. Amidſt thoſe complicated diſtreſſes, one circumſtance ſupported and animated the Spaniards. Their commander ſuſtained this ſad reverſe of fortune with unſhaken magnanimity. His preſence of mind never forſook him; his ſagacity foreſaw every event, and his vigilance provided for it. He was foremoſt in every danger, and endured every hardſhip with cheerfulneſs. The difficulties with which he was ſurrounded ſeemed to call forth new talents; and his ſoldiers, though deſpairing themſelves, continued to follow him with increaſing confidence in his abilities. BOOK V. 1520.

On the ſixth day they arrived near to Otumba, not far from the road between Mexico and Tlaſcala. Early next morning they began to advance towards it, flying parties of the enemy ſtill hanging on their rear; and, amidſt the inſults with which they accompanied their hoſtilities, Marina remarked that they often exclaimed with exultation, "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you ſhall quickly meet the vengeance due to your crimes." The Battle of Otumba.

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meaning of this threat the Spaniards did not comprehend, until they reached the ſummit of an eminence before them. There a ſpacious valley opened to their view, covered with a vaſt army, extending as far as the eye could reach. The Mexicans, while with one body of their troops they haraſſed the Spaniards in their retreat, had aſſembled their principal force on the other ſide of the lake; and marching along the road which led directly to Tlaſcala, poſted it in the plain of Otumba, through which they knew Cortes muſt paſs. At the ſight of this incredible multitude, which they could ſurvey at once from the riſing ground, the Spaniards were aſtoniſhed, and even the boldeſt began to deſpair. But Cortes, without allowing leiſure for their fears to acquire ſtrength by reflection, after warning them briefly that no alternative now remained but to conquer or to die, led them inſtantly to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with unuſual fortitude. Such, however, was the ſuperiority of the Spaniſh diſcipline and arms, that the impreſſion of this ſmall body was irreſiſtible; and which-ever way its force was directed, it penetrated and diſperſed the moſt numerous battalions. But while theſe gave way in one quarter, new combatants advanced from another, and the Spaniards, though ſucceſsful in every attack, were ready to ſink under thoſe repeated efforts, without

without ſeeing any end of their toil, or any hope of victory. At that time Cortes obſerved the great ſtandard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general, advancing; and fortunately recollecting to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle, he aſſembled a few of his braveſt officers, whoſe horſes were ſtill capable of ſervice, and placing himſelf at their head, puſhed forward towards the ſtandard with an impetuoſity which bore down every thing before it. A choſen body of nobles, who guarded the ſtandard, made ſome reſiſtance, but were ſoon broken. Cortes, with a ſtroke of his lance, wounded the Mexican general, and threw him to the ground. One of the Spaniſh officers alighting, put an end to his life, and laid hold of the imperial ſtandard. The moment that their leader fell, and the ſtandard, towards which all directed their eyes, diſappeared, an univerſal panic ſtruck the Mexicans, and, as if the bond which held them together had been diſſolved, every enſign was lowered, each ſoldier threw away his weapons, and all fled with precipitation to the mountains. The Spaniards, unable to purſue them far, returned to collect the ſpoils of the field, which were ſo valuable, as to be ſome compenſation for the wealth which they had loſt in Mexico; for in the enemy's army were moſt of their

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principal warriors, dreſſed out in their richeſt ornaments, as if they had been marching to aſſured victory. Next day, to their great joy, they entered the Tlaſcalan territories[1]. 1520. July 8.

Reception of the Spaniards in Tlaſcala.

But amidſt their ſatisfaction in having got beyond the precincts of an hoſtile country, they could not look forward without ſolicitude, as they were ſtill uncertain what reception they might meet with from allies, to whom they returned in a condition very different from that in which they had lately ſet out from their dominions. Happily for them, the enmity of the Tlaſcalans to the Mexican name was ſo inveterate, their deſire to avenge the death of their countrymen ſo vehement, and the aſcendant which Cortes had acquired over the chiefs of the republic ſo complete, that far from entertaining a thought of taking any advantage of the diſtreſſed ſituation in which they beheld the Spaniards, they received them with a tenderneſs and cordiality which quickly diſſipated all their ſuſpicions.

New deliberations of Cortes.

Some interval of tranquillity and indulgence was now abſolutely neceſſary; not only that the Spaniards might give attention to the cure of their wounds, which had been too long ne-

[1] Cortes Relat. p. 219. B. Diaz, c. 128. Gomara Cron. c. 110. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 12, 13.

glected, but in order to recruit their ſtrength, exhauſted by ſuch a long ſucceſſion of fatigue and hardſhips. During this, Cortes learned that he and his companions were not the only Spaniards who had felt the effects of the Mexican enmity. A conſiderable detachment which was marching from Zempoalla towards the capital, had been cut off by the people of Tepeaca. A ſmaller party, returning from Tlaſcala to Vera Cruz, with the ſhare of the Mexican gold allotted to the garriſon, had been ſurpriſed and deſtroyed in the mountains. At a juncture when the life of every Spaniard was of importance, ſuch loſſes were deeply felt. The ſchemes which Cortes was meditating rendered them peculiarly afflictive to him. While his enemies, and even many of his own followers, conſidered the diſaſters which had befallen him as fatal to the progreſs of his arms, and imagined that nothing now remained but ſpeedily to abandon a country which he had invaded with unequal force, his mind, as eminent for perſeverance as for enterpriſe, was ſtill bent on accompliſhing his original purpoſe, of ſubjecting the Mexican empire to the crown of Caſtile. Severe and unexpected as the check was which he had received, it did not appear to him a ſufficient reaſon for relinquiſhing the conqueſts which he had already made, or againſt reſuming his operations with

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better hopes of ſucceſs. The colony at Vera Cruz was not only ſafe but had remained unmoleſted. The people of Zempoalla and the adjacent diſtricts had diſcovered no ſymptoms of defection. The Tlaſcalans continued faithful to their alliance. On their martial ſpirit, eaſily rouſed to arms, and inflamed with implacable hatred of the Mexicans, Cortes depended for powerful aid. He had ſtill the command of a body of Spaniards, equal in number to that with which he had opened his way into the centre of the empire, and had taken poſſeſſion of the capital; ſo that with the benefit of greater experience, as well as more perfect knowledge of the country, he did not deſpair of quickly recovering all that he had been deprived of by untoward events.

The meaſures he takes.

FULL of this idea, he courted the Tlaſcalan chiefs with ſuch attention, and diſtributed among them ſo liberally the rich ſpoils of Otumba, that he was ſecure of obtaining whatever he ſhould require of the republic. He drew a ſmall ſupply of ammunition, and two or three field-pieces from his ſtores at Vera Cruz. He diſpatched an officer of confidence with four ſhips of Narvaez's fleet to Hiſpaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchaſe horſes, gunpowder, and other military ſtores. As he knew that it

would be vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unleſs he could ſecure the command of the lake, he gave orders to prepare, in the mountains of Tlaſcala, materials for building twelve brigantines, ſo as they might be carried thither in pieces ready to be put together, and launched when he ſtood in need of their ſervice [m]. BOOK V. 1520.

Mutinous ſpirit of his troops.

BUT while, with provident attention, he was taking thoſe neceſſary ſteps towards the execution of his meaſures, an obſtacle aroſe in a quarter where it was leaſt expected, but moſt formidable. The ſpirit of diſcontent and mutiny broke out in his own army. Many of Narvaez's followers were planters rather than ſoldiers, and had accompanied him to New Spain with ſanguine hopes of obtaining ſettlements, but with little inclination to engage in the hardſhips and dangers of war. As the ſame motives had induced them to enter into their new engagements with Cortes, they no ſooner became acquainted with the nature of the ſervice, than they bitterly repented of their choice. Such of them as had the good fortune to ſurvive the perilous adventures in which their own imprudence had involved them, happy in having made their eſcape,

[m] Cortes Relat. p. 253. E. Gomara Cron. c. 117.

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trembled at the thoughts of being expoſed a ſecond time to ſimilar calamities. As ſoon as they diſcovered the intention of Cortes, they began ſecretly to murmur and cabal, and waxing gradually more audacious, they, in a body, offered a remonſtrance to their general againſt the imprudence of attacking a powerful empire with his ſhattered forces, and formally required him to lead them back directly to Cuba. Though Cortes, long practiſed in the arts of command, employed arguments, intreaties, and preſents, to convince or to ſooth them; though his own ſoldiers, animated with the ſpirit of their leader, warmly ſeconded his endeavours; he found their fears too violent and deep-rooted to be removed, and the utmoſt he could effect was to prevail with them to defer their departure for ſome time, on a promiſe that he would, at a more proper juncture, diſmiſs ſuch as ſhould deſire it.

Means he employs to revive their confidence.

THAT the malcontents might have no leiſure to brood over the cauſes of their diſaffection, he reſolved inſtantly to call forth his troops into action. He propoſed to chaſtiſe the people of Tepeaca for the outrage which they had committed, and as the detachment which they had cut off happened to be compoſed moſtly of ſoldiers who had ſerved under Narvaez, their compa-

companions, from the deſire of vengeance, engaged the more willingly in this war. He took the command in perſon, accompanied by a numerous body of Tlaſcalans, and in the ſpace of a few weeks, after various encounters, with great ſlaughter of the Tepeacans, reduced that province to ſubjection. During ſeveral months, while he waited for the ſupplies of men and ammunition which he expected, and was carrying on his preparations for conſtructing the brigantines, he kept his troops conſtantly employed in various expeditions againſt the adjacent provinces, all of which were conducted with an uniform tenor of ſucceſs. By theſe, his men became again accuſtomed to victory, and reſumed their wonted ſenſe of ſuperiority; the Mexican power was weakened; the Tlaſcalan warriors acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards; and the chiefs of the republic delighted to ſee their country enriched with the ſpoils of all the people around them, and aſtoniſhed every day with freſh diſcoveries of the irreſiſtible proweſs of their allies, they declined no effort requiſite to ſupport them.

BOOK V.

1520. Auguſt.

All thoſe preparatory arrangements, however, though the moſt prudent and efficacious which the ſituation of Cortes allowed him to make, would have been of little avail, without a reinforce-

Strengthened by ſeveral reinforcements.

BOOK V. 1520.

reinforcement of Spaniſh ſoldiers. Of this he was ſo deeply ſenſible, that it was the chief object of his thoughts and wiſhes; and yet his only proſpect of obtaining it from the return of the officer whom he had ſent to the iſles to ſolicit aid, was both diſtant and uncertain. But what neither his own ſagacity nor power could have procured, he owed to a ſeries of fortunate and unforeſeen incidents. The governor of Cuba, to whom the ſucceſs of Narvaez appeared an event of infallible certainty, having ſent two ſmall ſhips after him with new inſtructions, and a ſupply of men and military ſtores, the officer whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coaſt, artfully decoyed them into the harbour of Vera Cruz, ſeized the veſſels, and eaſily perſuaded the ſoldiers to follow the ſtandard of a more able leader than him whom they were deſtined to join[n]. Soon after, three ſhips of more conſiderable force came into the harbour ſeparately. Theſe belonged to an armament fitted out by Franciſco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who, being poſſeſſed with the rage of diſcovery and conqueſt which animated every Spaniard ſettled in America, had long aimed at intruding into ſome diſtrict of New Spain, and dividing with Cortes the glory and gain of annexing

[n] B. Diaz. c. 131.

that

that empire to the crown of Caſtile. They unadviſedly made their attempt on the northern provinces, where the country was poor, and the people fierce and warlike; and after a cruel ſucceſſion of diſaſters, famine compelled them to venture into Vera Cruz, and caſt themſelves upon the mercy of their countrymen. Their fidelity was not proof againſt the ſplendid hopes and promiſes which had ſeduced other adventurers, and, as if the ſpirit of revolt had been contagious in New Spain, they likewiſe abandoned the maſter whom they were bound to ſerve, and inliſted under Cortes [o]. Nor was it America alone that furniſhed ſuch unexpected aid. A ſhip arrived from Spain, freighted by ſome private merchants with military ſtores, in hopes of a profitable market in a country, the fame of whoſe opulence began to ſpread over Europe. Cortes eagerly purchaſed a cargo which to him was invaluable, and the crew, following the general example, joined him at Tlaſcala [p].

BOOK V. 1520. October 28.

From thoſe various quarters, the army of Cortes was augmented with an hundred and eighty men, and twenty horſes, a reinforcement too inconſiderable to produce any conſequence

[o] Cortes Relat. 253. F. B. Diaz. c. 133.
[p] Ibid. c. 136.

which

BOOK V. 1520.

which would entitle it to have been mentioned in the hiſtory of other parts of the globe. But in that of America, where great revolutions were brought about by cauſes which ſeemed to bear no proportion to their effects, ſuch ſmall events riſe into importance, becauſe they were ſufficient to decide with reſpect to the fate of kingdoms. Nor is it the leaſt remarkable inſtance of the ſingular felicity conſpicuous in many paſſages of Cortes's ſtory, that the two perſons chiefly inſtrumental in furniſhing him with thoſe ſeaſonable ſupplies, ſhould be an avowed enemy who aimed at his deſtruction, and an envious rival who wiſhed to ſupplant him.

Number of his forces.

THE firſt effect of the junction with his new followers was to enable him to diſmiſs ſuch of Narvaez's ſoldiers as remained with reluctance in his ſervice. After their departure, he ſtill muſtered five hundred and fifty infantry, of which fourſcore were armed with muſkets or croſs-bows, forty horſemen, and a train of nine field-pieces[q]. At the head of theſe, accompanied by ten thouſand Tlaſcalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes began his march towards Mexico, on the twenty-eighth of December,

[q] Cortes Relat. 255. E.

fix

six months after his disastrous retreat from that city [r]. BOOK V. 1520.

Preparations of the Mexicans for their defence.

Nor did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother Quetlavaca to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards would have been sufficient to gain their suffrages, although he had been less distinguished for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of shewing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting, in person, those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital; and as soon as their retreat afforded him any respite from action, he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the spirit which he had displayed in driving them out of it. As from the vicinity of Tlascala, he could not be unacquainted with the motions and intentions of Cortes, he observed the storm that was gathering, and began early to provide against it. He repaired what the Spaniards had ruined in the city, and strengthened it with such new fortifications as the skill of his subjects was capable of erecting.

[r] Relat. 256. A. B. Diaz. c. 137.

Besides

BOOK V. 1520.

Beſides filling his magazines with the uſual weapons of war, he gave directions to make long ſpears headed with the ſwords and daggers taken from the Spaniards, in order to annoy the cavalry. He ſummoned the people in every province of the empire to take arms againſt their oppreſſors, and as an encouragement to exert themſelves with vigour, he promiſed them exemption from all the taxes which his predeceſſors had impoſed [s]. But what he laboured with the greateſt earneſtneſs was, to deprive the Spaniards of the advantages which they derived from the friendſhip of the Tlaſcalans, by endeavouring to perſuade that people to renounce all connection with men, who were not only avowed enemies of the gods whom they worſhipped, but who would not fail to ſubject them at laſt to the ſame yoke, which they were now inconſiderately lending their aid to impoſe upon others. Theſe repreſentations, no leſs ſtriking than well founded, were urged ſo forcibly by his ambaſſadors, that it required all the addreſs of Cortes to prevent their making a dangerous impreſſion [t].

But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plan of defence, with a degree of foreſight un-

[s] Cortes Relat. p. 253. E. 254. A. B. Diaz. c. 140.
[t] B. Diaz. c. 129. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 14. 19.

common

common in an American, his days were cut short by the ſmall-pox. This diſtemper, which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe, until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned among the greateſt calamities brought upon them by their invaders. In his ſtead the Mexicans raiſed to the throne Guatimozin, nephew and ſon-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of ſuch high reputation for abilities and valour, that in this dangerous criſis, his countrymen, with one voice, called him to the ſupreme command [u]. 1520.

As ſoon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories, he diſcovered various preparations to obſtruct his progreſs. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took poſſeſſion of Tezeuco, the ſecond city of the empire, ſituated on the banks of the lake about twenty miles from Mexico [w]. Here he determined to eſtabliſh his head-quarters, as the moſt proper ſtation for launching his brigantines, as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his reſidence there more ſecure, he depoſed the cazique or chief, who was 1521. Cortes advances towards Mexico.

[u] B. Diaz. c. 130.

[w] Villa Senor Theatro Americano, i. 156.

at

BOOK V. 1521.

at the head of that community, under pretext of ſome defect in his title, and ſubſtituted in his place a perſon whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the new cazique and his adherents ſerved the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity [x].

His operations ſlow and cautious.

As the preparations for conſtructing the brigantines advanced ſlowly under the unſkilful hands of ſoldiers and Indians, whom Cortes was obliged to employ in aſſiſting three or four carpenters who happened fortunately to be in his ſervice, and as he had not yet received the reinforcement which he expected from Hiſpaniola, he was not in a condition to turn his arms directly againſt the capital. To have attacked, at this period, a city ſo populous, ſo well prepared for defence, and in a ſituation of ſuch peculiar ſtrength, muſt have expoſed his troops to inevitable deſtruction. Three months elapſed before the materials for the brigantines were finiſhed, and before he heard any thing with reſpect to the ſucceſs of the officer whom he had ſent to Hiſpaniola. This, however, was not a ſeaſon of inaction to Cortes. He attacked ſuc-

[x] Cortes Relat. 256, &c. B. Diaz. c. 137. Gomara Cron. c. 121. Herrera, dec. 3. c. 1.

ceſſively

ceſſively ſeveral of the towns ſituated around the lake; and though all the Mexican power was exerted to obſtruct his operations, he either compelled them to ſubmit to the Spaniſh crown, or reduced them to ruins. The inhabitants of other towns he endeavoured to conciliate by more gentle means, and though he could not hold any intercourſe with them but by the intervention of interpreters, yet, under all the diſadvantage of that tedious and imperfect mode of communication he had acquired ſuch thorough knowledge of the ſtate of the country, as well as of the diſpoſitions of the people, that he conducted his negociations and intrigues with aſtoniſhing dexterity and ſucceſs. Moſt of the cities adjacent to Mexico were originally the capitals of ſmall independent ſtates; and ſome of them having been but lately annexed to the Mexican empire, ſtill retained the remembrance of their ancient liberty, and bore with impatience the rigorous yoke of their new maſters. Cortes having early obſerved ſymptoms of their diſaffection, availed himſelf of this knowledge to gain their confidence and friendſhip. By offering with confidence, to deliver them from the odious dominion of the Mexicans, and by liberal promiſes of more indulgent treatment, if they would unite with him againſt their oppreſſors, he prevailed on the people of ſeveral conſider-

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able diſtricts, not only to acknowledge the King of Caſtile as their ſovereign, but to ſupply the Spaniſh camp with proviſions, and to ſtrengthen his army with auxiliary troops. Guatimozin, on the firſt appearance of defection among his ſubjects, exerted himſelf with vigour to prevent or to puniſh their revolt; but in ſpite of his efforts, the ſpirit continued to ſpread. The Spaniards gradually acquired new allies, and with deep concern he beheld Cortes arming againſt his empire thoſe very hands which ought to have been active in its defence; and ready to advance againſt the capital at the head of a numerous body of his own ſubjects[y].

While, by thoſe various methods, Cortes was gradually circumſcribing the Mexican power in ſuch a manner that his proſpect of overturning it ſeemed neither to be uncertain nor remote, all his ſchemes were well nigh defeated, by a conſpiracy no leſs unexpected than dangerous. The ſoldiers of Narvaez had never united perfectly with the original companions of Cortes, nor did they enter into his meaſures with the ſame cordial zeal. Upon every occaſion that required any extraordinary effort of courage or of patience, their ſpirits were apt

[y] Cortes Relat. 256—260. B. Diaz, c. 137—140. Gomara Cron. c. 122, 123. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

to

to ſink; and now, on a near view of what they had to encounter, in attempting to reduce a city ſo inacceſſible as Mexico, and defended by a numerous army, the reſolution even of thoſe among them who had adhered to Cortes when he was deſerted by their aſſociates, began to fail. Their fears led them to preſumptuous and unſoldier-like diſcuſſions concerning the propriety of their general's meaſures, and the improbability of their ſucceſs. From theſe they proceeded to cenſure and invectives, and at laſt began to deliberate how they might provide for their own ſafety, of which they deemed their commander to be totally negligent. Antonio Villefagna, a private ſoldier, but bold, intriguing, and ſtrongly attached to Velaſquez, artfully fomented this growing ſpirit of diſaffection. His quarters became the rendezvous of the malcontents, where, after many conſultations, they could diſcover no method of checking Cortes in his career, but by aſſaſſinating him and his moſt conſiderable officers, and conferring the command upon ſome perſon who would relinquiſh his wild plans, and adopt meaſures more conſiſtent with the general ſecurity. Deſpair inſpired them with courage. The hour for perpetrating the crime, the perſons whom they deſtined as victims, the officers to ſucceed them in command, were all named; and the

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conſpirators ſigned an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves with moſt ſolemn oaths to mutual fidelity. But on the evening before the appointed day, one of Cortes's ancient followers, who had been ſeduced into the conſpiracy, touched with compunction at the imminent danger of a man whom he had long been accuſtomed to revere, or ſtruck with horror at his own treachery, went privately to his general, and revealed to him all that he knew. Cortes, though deeply alarmed, diſcerned at once what conduct was proper in a ſituation ſo critical. He repaired inſtantly to Villefagna's quarters, accompanied by ſome of his moſt truſty officers. The aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the man at this unexpected viſit anticipated the confeſſion of his guilt. Cortes, while his attendants ſeized the traitor, ſnatched from his boſom a paper containing the aſſociation, ſigned by the conſpirators. Impatient to know how far the defection extended, he retired to read it, and found there names which filled him with ſurpriſe and ſorrow. But, aware how dangerous a ſtrict ſcrutiny might prove at ſuch a juncture, he confined his judicial enquiries to Villefagna alone. As the proofs of his guilt were manifeſt, he was condemned after a ſhort trial, and next morning he was ſeen hanging before the door of the houſe in which he had lodged. Cortes called his

troops together, and having explained to them the atrocious purpose of the conspirators, as well as the justice of the punishment inflicted on Villefagna, he added, with an appearance of satisfaction, that he was entirely ignorant with respect to all the circumstances of this dark transaction, as the traitor, when arrested, had suddenly torn and swallowed a paper which probably contained an account of it, and under the severest tortures possessed such constancy as to conceal the names of his accomplices. This artful declaration restored tranquillity to many a breast that was throbbing, while he spoke, with consciousness of guilt and dread of detection; and by this prudent moderation, Cortes had the advantage of having discovered, and of being able to observe such of his followers as were disaffected; while they, flattering themselves that their past crime was unknown, endeavoured to avert any suspicion of it, by redoubling their activity and zeal in his service[z].

BOOK V. 1521.

Cortes did not allow them leisure to ruminate on what had happened; and as the most effectual means of preventing the return of a mutinous spirit, he determined to call forth

His singular preparation for building brigantines

[z] Cortes Relat. 283, C. B. Diaz. c. 146. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 1.

BOOK V. his troops immediately to action. Fortunately, a proper occaſion for this occurred without his ſeeming to court it. He received intelligence that the materials for building the brigantines were at length completely finiſhed, and waited only for a body of Spaniards to conduct them to Tezeuco. The command of this convoy, conſiſting of two hundred foot ſoldiers, fifteen horſemen, and two field-pieces, he gave to Sandoval, who, by the vigilance, activity, and courage which he manifeſted on every occaſion, was growing daily in his confidence, and in the eſtimation of his fellow-ſoldiers. The ſervice was no leſs ſingular than important; the beams, the planks, the maſts, the cordage, the ſails, the iron-work, and all the infinite variety of articles requiſite for the conſtruction of thirteen brigantines, were to be carried ſixty miles over land, through a mountainous country, by people who were unacquainted with the miniſtry of domeſtic animals, or the aid of machines to facilitate any work of labour. The Tlaſcalans furniſhed eight thouſand *Tamenes*, an inferior order of men deſtined for ſervile taſks, to carry the materials on their ſhoulders, and appointed fifteen thouſand warriors to accompany and defend them. Sandoval made the diſpoſition for their progreſs with great propriety, placing the *Tamenes* in

1521.

the centre, one body of warriors in the front, another in the rear, with conſiderable parties to cover the flanks. To each of theſe he joined ſome Spaniards, not only to aſſiſt them in danger, but to accuſtom them to regularity and ſubordination. A body ſo numerous, and ſo much encumbered, advanced leiſurely, but in excellent order; and in ſome places, where it was confined by the woods or mountains, the line of march extended above ſix miles. Parties of Mexicans frequently appeared hovering around them on the high grounds; but perceiving no proſpect of ſucceſs in attacking an enemy continually on his guard, and prepared to receive them, they did not venture to moleſt him; and Sandoval had the glory of conducting ſafely to Tezeuco, a convoy on which all the future operations of his countrymen depended[a]. BOOK V. 1521.

THIS was followed by another event of no leſs moment. Four ſhips arrived at Vera Cruz from Hiſpaniola, with two hundred ſoldiers, eighty horſes, two battering cannon, and a conſiderable ſupply of ammunition and arms[b]. Elevated with obſerving that all his preparatory ſchemes, either for recruiting his own army, or impairing the force of the enemy, Receives a new reinforcement.

[a] Cortes Relat. 260. C. E. B. Diaz. c. 140.
[b] Cortes Relat. 259. F. 262. D. Gomara Cron. c. 129.

BOOK V. 1521.

had now produced their full effect, Cortes, impatient to begin the ſiege in form, haſtened the launching of the brigantines. To facilitate this he had employed a vaſt number of Indians, for two months, in deepening the ſmall rivulet which runs by Tezeuco into the lake, and in forming it into a canal near two miles in length[c]; and though the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, as well as of the danger which threatened them, endeavoured frequently to interrupt the labourers, or to burn the brigantines, the work was at laſt completed[d]. On the twenty-eighth of April, all the Spaniſh troops, together with the auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the canal; and with extraordinary military pomp, rendered more ſolemn by the celebration of the moſt ſacred rites of religion, the brigantines were launched. As they fell down the canal in order, Father Olmedo bleſſed them, and gave each its name. Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoiſted their ſails, and bore away before the wind. A general ſhout of joy was raiſed; all admiring that bold inventive genius, which, by means ſo extraordinary that their ſucceſs almoſt exceeded belief, had acquired the command of a fleet, without the aid of which Mexico

The brigantines launched.

[c] See NOTE IV.

[d] B. Diaz. c. 140.

would

would have continued to ſet the Spaniſh power and arms at defiance[e]. BOOK V.

1521.

Cortes determined to attack the city from three different quarters; from Tepeaca on the north ſide of the lake, from Tacuba on the weſt, and from Cuyocan towards the ſouth. Thoſe towns were ſituated on the principal cauſeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defence. He appointed Sandoval to command in the firſt, Pedro de Alvarado in the ſecond, and Chriſtoval de Olid in the third; allotting to each a numerous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal diviſion of Spaniards, who, by the junction of the troops from Hiſpaniola, amounted now to eighty-ſix horſemen, and eight hundred and eighteen foot ſoldiers; of whom one hundred and eighteen were armed with muſkets or croſs-bows. The train of artillery conſiſted of three battering cannon, and fifteen field pieces[f]. He reſerved for himſelf, as the ſtation of greateſt importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his ſmall cannon, and manned with twenty-five Spaniards. Diſpoſitions for the ſiege.

[e] Cortes Relat. 266. C. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 5. Gomara Cron. c. 129.

[f] Cortes Relat. 266. C

As

BOOK V.

1521. May 10.

As Alvarado and Olid proceeded towards the poſts aſſigned them, they broke down the aqueducts which the ingenuity of the Mexicans had erected for conveying water into the capital, and by the diſtreſs to which this reduced the inhabitants, gave a beginning to the calamities which they were deſtined to ſuffer[g]. Alvarado and Olid found the towns of which they were ordered to take poſſeſſion deſerted by their inhabitants, who had fled for ſafety to the capital, where Guatimozin had collected the chief force of his empire, as there alone he could hope to make a ſucceſsful ſtand againſt the formidable enemies who were approaching to aſſault him.

Mexicans attack the brigantines.

THE firſt effort of the Mexicans was to deſtroy the fleet of brigantines, the fatal effects of whoſe operations they foreſaw and dreaded. Though the brigantines, after all the labour and merit of Cortes in forming them, were of inconſiderable bulk, rudely conſtructed, and manned chiefly with landmen, hardly poſſeſſed of ſkill enough to conduct them, they muſt have been objects of terror to a people unacquainted with any navigation but that of their lake, and poſſeſſed of no veſſel larger than a

[g] Cortes Relat. 267. B. B. Diaz. c. 150. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 13.

canoe.

canoe. Neceſſity, however, urged Guatimozin to hazard the attack; and hoping to ſupply by numbers what he wanted in force, he aſſembled ſuch a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could ſcarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze ſuddenly ſprung up; in a moment the ſails were ſpread, the brigantines, with the utmoſt eaſe, broke through their feeble opponents, overſet many canoes, and diſſipated the whole armament with ſuch ſlaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that the progreſs of the Europeans in knowledge and arts rendered their ſuperiority greater on this new element, than they had hitherto found it by land[h]. BOOK V. 1521. Repulſed.

FROM that time Cortes remained maſter of the lake, and the brigantines not only preſerved a communication between the Spaniards in their different ſtations, though at conſiderable diſtance from each other, but were employed to cover the cauſeways on each ſide, and keep off the canoes, when they attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. Cortes formed the brigantines in Singular plan of conducting the ſiege.

[h] Cortes Relat. 267. C. B. Diaz. c. 150. Gomara Cron. c. 131. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 17.

three

BOOK V. 1521.

three diviſions, appointing one to cover each of the ſtations from which an attack was to be carried on againſt the city, with orders to ſecond the operations of the officer who commanded there. From all the three ſtations he puſhed on the attack againſt the city with equal vigour; but in a manner ſo very different from the conduct of ſieges in regular war, that he himſelf ſeems afraid it would appear no leſs improper than ſingular, to perſons unacquainted with his ſituation[i]. Each morning his troops aſſaulted the barricades which the enemy had erected on the cauſeways, forced their way over the trenches which they had dug, and through the canals where the bridges were broken down, and endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of the city, in hopes of obtaining ſome deciſive advantage, which might force the enemy to ſurrender, and terminate the war at once; but when the obſtinate valour of the Mexicans rendered the efforts of the day ineffectual, the Spaniards retired in the evening to their former quarters. Thus their toil and danger were, in ſome meaſure, continually renewed; the Mexicans repairing in the night what the Spaniards had deſtroyed through the day, and recovering the poſts from which they had driven them. But neceſſity preſcribed this

[i] Cortes Relat. 270. F.

ſlow

ſlow and untoward mode of operation. The number of his troops was ſo ſmall, that Cortes durſt not, with a handful of men, attempt to make a lodgment in a city where he might be ſurrounded and annoyed by ſuch a multitude of enemies. The remembrance of what he had already ſuffered by the ill-judged confidence with which he had ventured into ſuch a dangerous ſituation, was ſtill freſh in his mind. The Spaniards exhauſted with fatigue, were unable to guard the various poſts which they daily gained; and though their camp was filled with Indian auxiliaries, they durſt not devolve this charge upon them, becauſe they were ſo little accuſtomed to diſcipline, that no confidence could be placed in their vigilance. Beſides this, Cortes was extremely ſolicitous to preſerve the city as much as poſſible from being deſtroyed, both becauſe he deſtined it to be the capital of his conqueſts, and wiſhed that it might remain as a monument of his glory. From all theſe conſiderations, he adhered obſtinately, for a month after the ſiege was opened, to the ſyſtem which he had adopted. The Mexicans, in their own defence, diſplayed valour which was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict ſucceeded to another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were

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ready to ſink under the toils of unintermitting ſervice, which were rendered more intolerable by the injuries of the ſeaſon, the periodical rains being now ſet in with their uſual violence[k].

Endeavours to take the city by ſtorm.

ASTONISHED and diſconcerted with the length and difficulties of the ſiege, Cortes determined to make one great effort to get poſſeſſion of the city, before he relinquiſhed the plan which he had hitherto followed, and had recourſe to any other mode of attack. With this view, he ſent inſtructions to Alvarado and Sandoval to advance with their diviſions to a general aſſault, and took the command in perſon of that poſted on the cauſeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his preſence, and the expectation of ſome deciſive event, the Spaniards puſhed forward with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. They broke through one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and having entered the city, gained ground inceſſantly, in ſpite of the multitude and ferocity of their opponents. Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progreſs, did not forget that he might ſtill find it neceſſary to retreat; and in order to ſecure it, appointed Julien de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the troops which he had received from Hiſpaniola, to fill up the canals and

July 3.

[k] B. Diaz. c. 151.

gaps

gaps in the cauſeway as the main body advanced. That officer, deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action and the career of victory, neglected the important charge committed to him, and hurried on, inconſiderately, to mingle with the combatants. The Mexicans, whoſe military attention and ſkill were daily improving, no ſooner obſerved this, than they carried an account of it to their monarch. 1521.

Repulſed

GUATIMOZIN inſtantly diſcerned the conſequence of the error which the Spaniards had committed, and, with admirable preſence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops poſted in the front to ſlacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to puſh forward, while he diſpatched a large body of choſen warriors through different ſtreets, ſome by land, and others by water, towards the great breach in the cauſeway, which had been left open. On a ſignal which he gave, the prieſts in the principal temple ſtruck the great drum conſecrated to the god of war. No ſooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful ſolemn ſound, calculated to inſpire them with contempt of death, and enthuſiaſtic ardour, than they

ruſhed

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rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist, men urged on no less by religious fury than hope of success, began to retire, at first leisurely, and with a good countenance; but as the enemy pressed on, and their own impatience to escape increased, the terror and confusion became so general, that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed upon them fiercely from every side, their light canoes carrying them through shoals which the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to stop and rally his flying troops; fear rendered them regardless of his entreaties or commands. Finding all his endeavours to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save some of those who had thrown themselves into the water; but while thus employed, with more attention to their situation than to his own, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and though two of his officers rescued him at the expence of their own lives, he received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose. Above sixty Spaniards perished in the rout; and what rendered the disaster more afflicting, forty of these fell alive into the hands

with considerable loss.

hands of an enemy never known to ſhew mercy to a captive [l].

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THE approach of night, though it delivered the dejected Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, uſhered in, what was hardly leſs grievous, the noiſe of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid feſtival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple ſhone with ſuch peculiar ſplendour, that the Spaniards could plainly ſee the people in motion, and the prieſts buſy in haſtening the preparations for the death of the priſoners. Through the gloom, they fancied that they diſcerned their companions by the whiteneſs of their ſkins, as they were ſtript naked, and compelled to dance before the image of the god to whom they were to be offered. They heard the ſhrieks of thoſe who were ſacrificed, and thought that they could diſtinguiſh each unhappy victim, by the well-known ſound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really ſaw or heard, and augmented its horror. The moſt unfeeling melted into tears of compaſſion, and the ſtouteſt heart trembled at the dreadful ſpectacle which they beheld [m].

Thoſe who were taken ſacrificed to the god of war.

[l] Cortes Relat. p. 273. B. Diaz. c. 152. Gomara Cron. c. 138. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 20.

[m] See NOTE V.

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New ſchemes and efforts of the Mexicans.

CORTES, who, beſides all that he felt in common with his ſoldiers, was oppreſſed with the additional load of anxious reflections natural to a general on ſuch an unexpected calamity, could not, like them, relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguiſh. He was obliged to aſſume an air of tranquillity, in order to revive the ſpirit and hopes of his followers. The juncture, indeed, required an extraordinary exertion of fortitude. The Mexicans, elated with their victory, ſallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone. They ſent the heads of the Spaniards whom they had ſacrificed, to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and aſſured them that the god of war, appeaſed by the blood of their invaders, which had been ſhed ſo plentifully on his altars, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days time thoſe hated enemies ſhould be finally deſtroyed, and peace and proſperity re-eſtabliſhed in the empire.

Cortes deſerted by many of his Indian allies.

A PREDICTION uttered with ſuch confidence, and in terms ſo void of ambiguity, gained univerſal credit among a people prone to ſuperſtition. The zeal of the provinces, which had already declared againſt the Spaniards, augmented; and ſeveral which had hitherto remained inactive, took arms, with enthuſiaſtic

ardour, to execute the decree of the gods. The Indian auxiliaries who had joined Cortes, accuſtomed to venerate the ſame deities with the Mexicans, and to receive the reſponſes of their prieſts with the ſame implicit faith, abandoned the Spaniards as a race of men devoted to certain deſtruction. Even the fidelity of the Tlaſcalans was ſhaken, and the Spaniſh troops were left almoſt alone in their ſtations. Cortes, finding that he attempted in vain to diſpel the ſuperſtitious fears of his confederates by argument, took advantage, from the imprudence of thoſe who had framed the prophecy, in fixing its accompliſhment ſo near at hand, to give a ſtriking demonſtration of its falſity. He ſuſpended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle. Under cover of the brigantines, which kept the enemy at a diſtance, his troops lay in ſafety, and the fatal term expired without any diſaſter [n]. BOOK V. 1521.

MANY of his allies, aſhamed of their own credulity, returned to their ſtation. Other tribes, judging that the gods who had now deceived the Mexicans, had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them, joined his ſtandard; and ſuch was the levity of a ſimple people, moved by every ſlight im- He regains their friendſhip,

[n] B. Diaz. c. 153. Gomara Cron. c. 138.

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preſſion, that in a ſhort time after ſuch a general defection of his confederates, Cortes ſaw himſelf, if we may believe his own account, at the head of a hundred and fifty-thouſand Indians. Even with ſuch a numerous army, he found it neceſſary to adopt a new and more wary ſyſtem of operation. Inſtead of renewing his attempts to become maſter of the city at once, by ſuch bold but dangerous efforts of valour as he had already tried, he made his advances gradually, and with every poſſible precaution againſt expoſing his men to any calamity ſimilar to that which they ſtill bewailed. As the Spaniards puſhed forward, the Indians regularly repaired the cauſeways behind them. As ſoon as they got poſſeſſion of any part of the town, the houſes were inſtantly levelled with the ground. Day by day, the Mexicans, forced to retire as their enemies gained ground, were hemmed in within more narrow limits. Guatimozin, though unable to ſtop the career of the enemy, continued to defend his capital with obſtinate reſolution, and diſputed every inch of ground. The Spaniards not only varied their mode of attack, but, by orders of Cortes, changed the weapons with which they fought. They were again armed with the long Chinantlan ſpears, which they had employed with ſuch ſucceſs againſt Narvaez; and, by the firm array

and adopts a new ſyſtem of attack.

in

in which this enabled them to range themselves, they repelled, with little danger, the loose assault of the Mexicans: incredible numbers of them fell in the conflicts which they renewed every day[o]. While war wasted without, famine began to consume them within, the city. The Spanish brigantines, having the entire command of the lake, rendered it almost impossible to convey to the besieged any supply of provisions by water. The immense number of his Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to shut up the avenues to the city by land. The stores which Guatimozin had laid up were exhausted by the multitudes which had crowded into the capital to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods. Not only the people, but persons of the highest rank, felt the utmost distresses of famine. What they suffered, brought on infectious and mortal distempers, the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of their woes[p]. 1521.

Courage and constancy of Guatimozin.

But, under the pressure of so many and such various evils, the spirit of Guatimozin remained firm and unsubdued. He rejected, with scorn, every overture of peace from

[o] Cortes Relat. p. 275. C. 276. F. B. Diaz. c. 153.

[p] Cortes Relat. 276. E. 277. F. B. Diaz. 155. Gomara Cron. c. 141.

BOOK V. 1521. Cortes; and diſdaining the idea of ſubmitting to the oppreſſors of his country, determined not to ſurvive its ruin. The Spaniards continued July 27. their progreſs. At length all the three diviſions penetrated into the great ſquare in the centre of the city, and made a ſecure lodgment there. Three-fourths of the city were now reduced, and laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was ſo cloſely preſſed, that it could not long withſtand aſſailants, who attacked it from their new ſtation with ſuperior advantage, and more aſſured expectation of ſucceſs. The Mexican nobles, ſolicitous to ſave the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatimozin to retire from a place where reſiſtance was now vain, that he might rouſe the more diſtant provinces of the empire to arms, and maintain there a more ſucceſsful ſtruggle with the public enemy. In order to facilitate the execution of this meaſure, they endeavoured to amuſe Cortes with overtures of ſubmiſſion, that, while his attention was employed in adjuſting the articles of pacification, Guatimozin might eſcape unperceived. But they made this attempt upon a leader of greater ſagacity and diſcernment than to be deceived by their arts. Cortes ſuſpecting their intention, and aware of what moment it was to defeat it, appointed Sandoval, the officer on whoſe vigilance he could moſt perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines,

brigantines, with ſtrict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy. Sandoval, attentive to the charge, obſerving ſome large canoes crowded with people rowing acroſs the lake with extraordinary rapidity, inſtantly gave the ſignal to chace. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the ſwifteſt-ſailing brigantine, ſoon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremoſt canoe, which ſeemed to carry ſome perſon whom all the reſt followed and obeyed. At once the rowers dropt their oars, and all on board, throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear, as the Emperor was there. Holguin eagerly ſeized his prize, and Guatimozin, with a dignified compoſure, gave himſelf up into his hands, requeſting only that no inſult might be offered to the Empreſs or his children. When conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the ſullen fierceneſs of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a ſupplicant. "I have done," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the Spaniſh general, "what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the laſt extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, "plant it in my breaſt, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of uſe[q]."

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He is taken priſoner.

[q] Cortes Relat. 279. B. Diaz. c. 156. Gomara Cron. c. 142. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 7.

BOOK V.

1521. Aug. 13. The city.

As ſoon as the fate of their ſovereign was known, the reſiſtance of the Mexicans ceaſed; and Cortes took poſſeſſion of that ſmall part of the capital which yet remained undeſtroyed. Thus terminated the ſiege of Mexico, the moſt memorable event in the conqueſt of America. It continued ſeventy-five days, hardly one of which paſſed without ſome extraordinary effort of one party in the attack, or of the other in the defence of a city, on the fate of which both knew that the fortune of the empire depended. As the ſtruggle here was more obſtinate, it was likewiſe more equal, than any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds. The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar ſituation of his capital, ſo far counterbalanced the ſuperiority of the Spaniards in arms and diſcipline, that they muſt have relinquiſhed the enterpriſe, if they had truſted for ſucceſs to themſelves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealouſy of neighbours who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of ſubjects impatient to ſhake off its yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accompliſh what, without ſuch ſupport, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. How much ſoever this account of the reduction of Mexico may detract, on the one hand, from the marvellous relations of ſome Spaniſh writers, by aſcribing that

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that to ſimple and obvious cauſes which they attribute to the romantic valour of their countrymen, it adds, on the other, to the merit and abilities of Cortes, who, under every diſadvantage, acquired ſuch an aſcendant over unknown nations, as to render them inſtruments towards carrying his ſchemes into execution[r].

Smallneſs of the booty, and diſappointment of the Spaniards.

THE exultation of the Spaniards, on accompliſhing this arduous enterpriſe, was at firſt exceſſive. But this was quickly damped by the cruel diſappointment of thoſe ſanguine hopes, which had animated them amidſt ſo many hardſhips and dangers. Inſtead of the inexhauſtible wealth which they expected from becoming maſters of Montezuma's treaſures, and the ornaments of ſo many temples, their rapaciouſneſs could only collect an inconſiderable booty amidſt ruins and deſolation[s]. Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what remained of the riches amaſſed by his anceſtors to be thrown into the lake. The Indian auxiliaries, while the Spaniards were engaged in conflict with the enemy, had carried off the moſt valuable part of the ſpoil. The ſum to be divided among the conquerors

[r] See NOTE VI.

[s] The gold and ſilver, according to Cortes, amounted only to 120,000 peſos. Relat. 280. A. a ſum much inferior to that which the Spaniards had formerly divided in Mexico.

was

BOOK V. 1521. was so small, that many of them disdained to accept of the pittance which fell to their share, and all murmured and exclaimed; some, against Cortes and his confidents, whom they suspected of having secretly appropriated to their own use a large portion of the riches which should have been brought into the common stock; others, against Guatimozin, whom they accused of obstinacy, in refusing to discover the place where he had hidden his treasure.

Guatimozin tortured.

ARGUMENTS, intreaties, and promises were employed in order to sooth them, but with so little effect, that Cortes, from solicitude to check this growing spirit of discontent, gave way to a deed which stains the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favourite, to torture, in order to force from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict, with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected eye towards his master, which seemed to implore his

his permiſſion to reveal all that he knew. But the high-ſpirited prince, darting on him a look of authority mingled with ſcorn, checked his weakneſs by aſking, "Am I now repoſing on a bed of flowers?" Overawed by the reproach, the favourite perſevered in his dutiful ſilence, and expired. Cortes, aſhamed of a ſcene ſo horrid, reſcued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reſerved for new indignities and ſufferings [t].

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THE fate of the capital, as both parties had foreſeen, decided that of the empire. The provinces ſubmitted one after another to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards marching through them without interruption, penetrated in different quarters to the great Southern Ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a ſhort as well as eaſy paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, and ſecure to the crown of Caſtile all the envied wealth of thoſe fertile regions [u]; and the active mind of Cortes began already to form ſchemes for attempting this important diſcovery [w].

All the provinces of the empire ſubmit.

Cortes forms ſchemes of new diſcoveries.

[t] B. Diaz. c. 157. Gomara Cron. c. 146. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 8. Torquem. Mon. Ind. i. 574.

[u] Cortes Relat. 280. D. &c. B. Diaz. c. 157.

[w] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 17. Gomara Cron. c. 149.

HE

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1521. which are completed by Magellan.

He did not know, that during the progreſs of his victorious arms in Mexico, the very ſcheme, of which he began to form ſome idea, had been undertaken and accompliſhed. As this is one of the moſt ſplendid events in the hiſtory of the Spaniſh diſcoveries, and has been productive of effects peculiarly intereſting to thoſe extenſive provinces which Cortes had now ſubjected to the crown of Caſtile, the account of its riſe and progreſs merits a particular detail.

Ferdinand Magalhaens, or Magellan, a Portugueſe gentleman of honourable birth, having ſerved ſeveral years in the Eaſt Indies, with diſtinguiſhed valour, under the famous Albuquerque, demanded the recompence which he thought due to his ſervices, with the boldneſs natural to a high ſpirited ſoldier. But as his general would not grant his ſuit, and he expected greater juſtice from his ſovereign, whom he knew to be a good judge and a generous rewarder of merit, he quitted India abruptly, and returned to Liſbon. In order to induce Emanuel to liſten more favourably to his claim, he not only ſtated his paſt ſervices, but offered to add to them by conducting his countrymen to the Molucca or Spice Iſlands, by holding a weſterly courſe; which he contended would be both ſhorter and leſs hazardous than that

that which the Portugueſe now followed by the Cape of Good Hope, through the immenſe extent of the Eaſtern Ocean. This was the original and favourite project of Columbus, and Magellan founded his hopes of ſucceſs on the ideas of that great navigator, confirmed by many obſervations, the reſult of his own naval experience, as well as that of his countrymen in their intercourſe with the Eaſt. But though the Portugueſe monarchs had the merit of having firſt awakened and encouraged the ſpirit of diſcovery in that age, it was their deſtiny, in the courſe of a few years, to reject two grand ſchemes for this purpoſe, the execution of which would have been attended with a great acceſſion of glory to themſelves, and of power to their kingdom. In conſequence of ſome ill-founded prejudice againſt Magellan, or of ſome dark intrigue which contemporary hiſtorians have not explained, Emanuel would neither beſtow the recompence which he claimed, nor approve of the ſcheme which he propoſed; and diſmiſſed him with a diſdainful coldneſs intolerable to a man conſcious of what he deſerved, and animated with the ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs peculiar to thoſe who are capable of forming or of conducting new and great undertakings. In a tranſport of reſentment, Magellan formally renounced his allegiance

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to an ungrateful maſter, and fled to the court of Caſtile, where he expected that his talents would be more juſtly eſtimated. He endeavoured to recommend himſelf by offering to execute, under the patronage of Spain, that ſcheme, which he had laid before the court of Portugal, the accompliſhment of which, he knew, would wound the monarch againſt whom he was exaſperated in the moſt tender part. In order to eſtabliſh the juſtneſs of his theory, he produced the ſame arguments which he had employed at Liſbon; acknowledging, at the ſame time, that the undertaking was both arduous and expenſive, as it could not be attempted but with a ſquadron of conſiderable force, and victualled for at leaſt two years. Fortunately, he applied to a miniſter who was not apt to be deterred, either by the boldneſs of a deſign, or the expence of carrying it into execution. Cadinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the affairs of Spain, diſcerning at once what an increaſe of wealth and glory would accrue to his country by the ſucceſs of Magellan's propoſal, liſtened to it with a moſt favourable ear. Charles V. on his arrival in his Spaniſh dominions, entered into the meaſure with no leſs ardour, and orders were iſſued for equipping a proper ſquadron at the public charge, of which the command was given to Magellan,

lan, whom the King honoured with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain-General[x]. * . . * BOOK V. 1521.

On the tenth of Auguſt one thouſand five hundred and nineteen, Magellan ſailed from Seville with five ſhips, which, according to the ideas of the age, were deemed to be of conſiderable force, though the burden of the largeſt did not exceed one hundred and twenty tons. The crews of the whole amounted to two hundred and thirty-four men, among whom were ſome of the moſt ſkilful pilots in Spain, and ſeveral Portugueſe ſailors, in whoſe experience, as more extenſive, Magellan placed ſtill greater confidence. After touching at the Canaries, he ſtood directly ſouth towards the equinoctial line along the coaſt of America, but was ſo long retarded by tedious calms, and ſpent ſo much time in ſearching every bay and inlet for that communication with the Southern Ocean which he wiſhed to diſcover, that he did not reach the river De la Plata till the twelfth of January. That ſpacious opening through which its vaſt body of water pours into the Atlantic allured him to enter; but after ſailing up it for ſome His voyage. 1520.

[x] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. ii. c. 19. lib. iv. c. 9. Gomara Hiſt. c. 91. Dalrymple's Collect. of Voyages to the South Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 1, &c.

days,

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days, he concluded, from the ſhallowneſs of the ſtream and the freſhneſs of the water, that the wiſhed-for ſtrait was not ſituated there, and continued his courſe towards the ſouth. On the thirty-firſt of March he arrived in the port of St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees ſouth of the line, where he reſolved to winter. In this uncomfortable ſtation he loſt one of his ſquadron, and the Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from the exceſſive rigour of the climate, that the crews of three of his ſhips, headed by their officers, roſe in open mutiny, and inſiſted on relinquiſhing the viſionary project of a deſperate adventurer, and returning directly to Spain. This dangerous inſurrection Magellan ſuppreſſed, by an effort of courage no leſs prompt than intrepid, and inflicted exemplary puniſhment on the ring-leaders. With the remainder of his followers, overawed but not reconciled to his ſcheme, he continued his voyage towards the ſouth, and at length diſcovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a ſtrait, into which he entered, notwithſtanding the murmurs and remonſtrances of the people under his command. After ſailing twenty days in that winding dangerous channel, to which he gave his own name, and where one of his ſhips deſerted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and with tears of joy he returned thanks

thanks to Heaven for having thus far crowned his endeavours with ſucceſs [y]. BOOK V. 1521.

But he was ſtill at a greater diſtance than he imagined from the object of his wiſhes. He ſailed during three months and twenty days in an uniform direction towards the north-weſt, without diſcovering land. In this voyage, the longeſt that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, he ſuffered incredible diſtreſs. His ſtock of proviſions was almoſt exhauſted, the water became putrid, the men were reduced to the ſhorteſt allowance with which it was poſſible to ſuſtain life, and the ſcurvy, the moſt dreadful of all the maladies with which ſeafaring people are afflicted, began to ſpread among the crew. One circumſtance alone afforded them ſome conſolation; they enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of fair weather, with ſuch favourable winds, that Magellan beſtowed on that ocean the name of *Pacific*, which it ſtill retains. When reduced to ſuch extremity that they muſt have ſunk under their ſufferings, they fell in with a cluſter of ſmall but fertile iſlands, which afforded them refreſhments in ſuch abundance, that their health March 6.

[y] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iv. c. 10. lib. ix. c. 10, &c. Gomara, Hiſt. c. 92. Pigafetta Viaggio ap. Ramuſ. ii. p. 352, &c.

BOOK V. was ſoon re-eſtabliſhed. From theſe iſles, which he called *De los Ladrones*, he proceeded
1521. on his voyage, and ſoon made a more important diſcovery of the iſlands now known by the name of the *Philippines*. In one of theſe he got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of troops well armed; and while he fought at the head of his men with his uſual
April 26. valour, he fell by the hands of thoſe barbarians, together with ſeveral of his principal officers.

THE expedition was proſecuted under other commanders. After viſiting many of the ſmaller iſles ſcattered in the eaſtern part of the
Nov. 8. Indian ocean, they touched at the great iſland of Borneo, and at length landed in Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the aſtoniſhment of the Portugueſe, who could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a weſterly courſe, had arrived at that ſequeſtered ſeat of their moſt valuable commerce, which they themſelves had diſcovered by ſailing in an oppoſite direction. There, and in the adjacent iſles, the Spaniards found a people acquainted with the benefits of extenſive trade, and willing to open an intercourſe with a new nation. They took in a cargo of the precious ſpices, which are the diſtinguiſhed production of theſe

theſe iſlands; and with that, as well as with ſpecimens of the rich commodities yielded by the other countries which they had viſited, the *Victory*, which, of the two ſhips that remained of the ſquadron, was moſt fit for a long voyage, ſet ſail for Europe, under the command of Juan Sebaſtian del Cano. He followed the courſe of the Portugueſe, by the Cape of Good Hope, and after many diſaſters and ſufferings, he arrived at St. Lucar on the ſeventh of September one thouſand five hundred and twenty-two, having ſailed round the globe in the ſpace of three years and twenty-eight days[z]. BOOK V. 1522. Jan.

THOUGH an untimely fate deprived Magellan of the ſatisfaction of accompliſhing this great undertaking, his contemporaries, juſt to his memory and talents, aſcribed to him not only the honour of having formed the plan, but of having ſurmounted almoſt every obſtacle to the completion of it; and in the preſent age his name is ſtill ranked among the higheſt in the roll of eminent and ſucceſsful navigators. The naval glory of Spain now eclipſed that of every other nation; and by a ſingular felicity ſhe had the merit, in the courſe of a few years,

[z] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. i. c. 3. 9. lib. iv. c. 1. Gomara Cron. c. 93, &c. Pigafetta ap. Ramuſ. ii. p. 361, &c.

BOOK V. 1522. of diſcovering a new continent almoſt as large as that part of the earth which was formerly known, and of aſcertaining by experience the form and extent of the whole of the terraqueous globe.

THE Spaniards were not ſatisfied with the glory of having firſt encompaſſed the earth; they expected to derive great commercial advantages from this new and boldeſt effort of their maritime ſkill. The men of ſcience among them contended, that the ſpice iſlands, and ſeveral of the richeſt countries in the Eaſt, were ſo ſituated as to belong of right to the crown of Caſtile, in conſequence of the partitions made by Alexander VI. The merchants, without attending to this diſcuſſion, engaged eagerly in that lucrative and alluring commerce, which was now open to them. The Portugueſe, alarmed at the intruſion of ſuch formidable rivals, remonſtrated and negociated in Europe, while in Aſia they obſtructed the trade of the Spaniards by force of arms. Charles V., not ſufficiently inſtructed with reſpect to the importance of this valuable branch of commerce, or diſtracted by the multiplicity of his ſchemes and operations, did not afford his ſubjects proper protection. At laſt, the low ſtate of his finances, exhauſted by the efforts of his arms

in every part of Europe, together with the dread of adding a new war with Portugal to thoſe in which he was already engaged, induced him to make over his claim of the Moluccas to the Portugueſe for three hundred and fifty thouſand ducats. He reſerved, however, to the crown of Caſtile the right of reviving its pretenſions on repayment of that ſum; but other objects engroſſed his attention and that of his ſucceſſors; and Spain was finally excluded from a branch of commerce in which it was engaging with ſanguine expectations of profit[a]. BOOK V. 1522.

THOUGH the trade with the Moluccas was relinquiſhed, the voyage of Magellan was followed by commercial effects of great moment to Spain. Philip II. in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four, reduced thoſe iſlands which he diſcovered in the Eaſtern ocean to ſubjection, and eſtabliſhed ſettlements there; between which and the kingdom of New Spain, a regular intercourſe, the nature of which ſhall be explained in its proper place, is ſtill carried on. I return now to the tranſactions in New Spain.

AT the time that Cortes was acquiring ſuch extenſive territories for his native country, and An order to ſuperſede Cortes.

[a] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. c. 5, &c. dec. 4. lib. v. c. 7, &c.

BOOK V. 1522.

preparing the way for future conqueſts, it was his ſingular fate not only to be deſtitute of any commiſſion or authority from the ſovereign whom he was ſerving with ſuch ſucceſsful zeal, but to be regarded as an undutiful and ſeditious ſubject. By the influence of Fonſeca, Biſhop of Burgos, his conduct in aſſuming the government of New Spain was declared to be an irregular uſurpation, in contempt of the royal authority; and Chriſtoval de Tapia received a commiſſion, impowering him to ſuperſede Cortes, to ſeize his perſon, to confiſcate his effects, to make a ſtrict ſcrutiny into his proceedings, and to tranſmit the reſult of all the enquiries carried on in New Spain to the Council of the Indies, of which the Biſhop of Burgos was preſident. A few weeks after the reduction of Mexico, Tapia landed at Vera Cruz with the royal mandate to ſtrip its conqueror of his power, and treat him as a criminal. But Fonſeca had choſen a very improper inſtrument to wreak his vengeance on Cortes. Tapia had neither the reputation nor the talents that ſuited the high command to which he was appointed. Cortes, while he publicly expreſſed the moſt reſpectful veneration for the Emperor's authority, ſecretly took meaſures to defeat the effect of his commiſſion; and having involved Tapia and his followers in a multiplicity of negociations and conferences, in which he ſometimes had recourſe to threats,

which he eludes.

but

but more frequently employed bribes and promiſes, he at length prevailed upon that weak man to abandon a province which he was unworthy of governing [b]. 1522.

Applies again to the court. May 15.

But notwithſtanding the fortunate dexterity with which he had eluded this danger, Cortes was ſo ſenſible of the precarious tenure by which he held his power, that he diſpatched deputies to Spain, with a pompous account of the ſucceſs of his arms, with farther ſpecimens of the productions of the country, and with rich preſents to the Emperor, as the earneſt of future contributions from his new conqueſts; requeſting, in recompence for all his ſervices, the approbation of his proceedings, and that he might be entruſted with the government of thoſe dominions, which his conduct, and the valour of his followers, had added to the crown of Caſtile. The juncture in which his deputies reached the court was favourable. The internal commotions in Spain, which had diſquieted the beginning of Charles's reign, were juſt appeaſed [c]. The miniſters had leiſure to turn their attention towards foreign affairs. The account of Cortes's victories filled his countrymen with

[b] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iii. c. 16, 3. dec. iv. c. 1. Cort. Relat. 281. E. B. Diaz. c. 158.

[c] Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. ii. b. iii.

BOOK V. 1522.

admiration. The extent and value of his conquests became the object of vast and interesting hopes. Whatever stain he might have contracted, by the irregularity of the steps which he took in order to attain power, was so fully effaced by the splendour and merit of the great actions which this had enabled him to perform, that every heart revolted at the thought of inflicting any censure on a man, whose services entitled him to the highest marks of distinction. The public voice declared warmly in favour of his pretensions, and Charles arriving in Spain about this time, adopted the sentiments of his subjects with a youthful ardour. Notwithstanding the claims of Velasquez, and the partial representations of the Bishop of Burgos, the Emperor appointed Cortes captain-general and governor of New Spain, judging that no person was so capable of maintaining the royal authority, or of establishing good order both among his Spanish and Indian subjects, as the victorious leader whom the former had long been accustomed to obey, and the latter had been taught to fear and to respect [d].

and is appointed captain-general and governor of New Spain.

His schemes and arrangements.

Even before his jurisdiction received this legal sanction, Cortes ventured to exercise all

[d] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 3. Gomara Cron. c. 164, 165, B. Diaz. 167, 168.

the

the powers of a governor, and, by various arrangements, endeavoured to render his conqueſt a ſecure and beneficial acquiſition to his country. He determined to eſtabliſh the ſeat of government in its ancient ſtation, and to raiſe Mexico again from its ruins; and having conceived high ideas concerning the future grandeur of the ſtate of which he was laying the foundation, he began to rebuild its capital on a plan which hath gradually formed the moſt magnificent city in the New World. At the ſame time, he employed ſkilful perſons to ſearch for mines in different parts of the country, and opened ſome which were found to be richer than any which the Spaniards had hitherto diſcovered in America. He detached his principal officers into the remote provinces, and encouraged them to ſettle there, not only by beſtowing upon them large tracts of land, but by granting them the ſame dominion over the Indians, and the ſame right to their ſervice, which the Spaniards had aſſumed in the iſlands. 1522.

Insurrections of the Mexicans, and cruelty of the Spaniards.

It was not, however, without difficulty, that the Mexican empire could be entirely reduced into the form of a Spaniſh colony. Enraged and rendered deſperate by oppreſſion, the natives often forgot the ſuperiority of their enemies,

BOOK V. 1522. enemies, and ran to arms in defence of their liberties. In every conteſt, however, the European valour and diſcipline prevailed. But fatally for the honour of their country, the Spaniards ſullied the glory redounding from theſe repeated victories by their mode of treating the vanquiſhed people. After taking Guatimozin, and becoming maſters of his capital, they ſuppoſed that the King of Caſtile entered on poſſeſſion of all the rights of the captive monarch, and affected to conſider every effort of the Mexicans to aſſert their own independence, as the rebellion of vaſſals againſt their ſovereign, or the mutiny of ſlaves againſt their maſter. Under the ſanction of thoſe ill-founded maxims, they violated every right that ſhould be held ſacred between hoſtile nations. After each inſurrection, they reduced the common people, in the provinces which they ſubdued, to the moſt humiliating of all conditions, that of perſonal ſervitude. Their chiefs, ſuppoſed to be more criminal, were puniſhed with greater ſeverity, and put to death in the moſt ignominious or the moſt excruciating mode, that the inſolence or the cruelty of their conquerors could deviſe. In almoſt every diſtrict of the Mexican empire, the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms is marked with blood, and with deeds ſo atrocious, as diſgrace the enterpriſing valour that

that conducted them to ſucceſs. In the coun- BOOK
try of Panuco, ſixty caziques or leaders, and V.
four hundred nobles, were burnt at one time. 1522.
Nor was this ſhocking barbarity perpetrated in any ſudden ſally of rage, or by a commander of inferior note. It was the act of Sandoval, an officer whoſe name is entitled to the ſecond rank in the annals of New Spain, and executed after a ſolemn conſultation with Cortes; and to complete the horror of the ſcene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were aſſembled, and compelled to be ſpectators of their dying agonies [c]. It ſeems hardly poſſible to exceed in horror this dreadful example of ſeverity; but it was followed by another, which affected the Mexicans ſtill more ſenſibly, as it gave them a moſt feeling proof of their own degradation, and of the ſmall regard which their haughty maſters retained for the ancient dignity and ſplendor of their ſtate. On a ſlight ſuſpicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, that Guatimozin had formed a ſcheme to ſhake off the yoke, and to excite his former ſubjects to take arms, Cortes, without the formality of a trial, ordered the unhappy monarch, together with the caziques of Tezeuco and Tacuba, the two perſons of greateſt eminence in the empire, to be hanged;

[c] Cortes Relat. 291. C. Gomara Cron. c. 155.

and

BOOK V. 1522.

and the Mexicans, with aſtoniſhment and horror, beheld this diſgraceful puniſhment inflicted upon perſons, to whom they were accuſtomed to look up with reverence, hardly inferior to that which they paid to the gods themſelves[f]. The example of Cortes and his principal officers encouraged and juſtified perſons of ſubordinate rank to venture upon committing greater exceſſes. Nuno de Guzman, in particular, ſtained an illuſtrious name by deeds of peculiar enormity and rigour, in various expeditions which he conducted[g].

First object of induſtry among the conquerors.

ONE circumſtance, however, ſaved the Mexicans from farther conſumption, perhaps from one as complete as that which had depopulated the iſlands. The firſt conquerors did not attempt to ſearch for the precious metals in the bowels of the earth. They were neither ſufficiently wealthy to carry on the expenſive works, which are requiſite for opening thoſe deep receſſes, where nature has concealed the veins of gold and ſilver, nor ſufficiently ſkilful to perform the ingenious operations by which thoſe precious metals are ſeparated from their reſpective ores. They were ſatisfied with the

[f] Gomara Cron. c. 170. B. Diaz. c. 177. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 9. See NOTE VII.

[g] Herrera, dec. 4 & 5 paſſim.

more

more ſimple method, practiſed by the Indians, of waſhing the earth carried down rivers and torrents from the mountains, and collecting the grains of native metal depoſited there. The rich mines of New Spain, which have poured forth their treaſures with ſuch profuſion on every quarter of the globe, were not diſcovered for ſeveral years after the conqueſt[b]. By that time, a more orderly government and police were introduced into the colony; experience, derived from former errors, had ſuggeſted many uſeful and humane regulations for the protection and preſervation of the Indians; and though it then became neceſſary to increaſe the number of thoſe employed in the mines, and they were engaged in a ſpecies of labour more pernicious to the human conſtitution, they ſuffered leſs hardſhip or diminution than from the ill-judged, but leſs extenſive, ſchemes of the firſt conquerors.

1522.

1552, &c.

WHILE it was the lot of the Indians to ſuffer, their new maſters ſeemed not to have derived any conſiderable wealth from their ill-conducted reſearches. According to the uſual fate of firſt ſettlers in new colonies, it was their lot to encounter danger, and to ſtruggle with difficulties; the fruits of their

Their poverty.

[b] Herrera, dec. 8. lib. x. c. 21.

victories

BOOK V.

1522. victories and toils were reſerved for times of tranquillity, and reaped by ſucceſſors of great induſtry, but of inferior merit. The early hiſtorians of America abound with accounts of the ſufferings and of the poverty of its conquerors[i]. In New Spain, their condition was rendered more grievous by a peculiar arrangement. When Charles V. advanced Cortes to the government of that country, he at the ſame time appointed certain commiſſioners to receive and adminiſter the royal revenue there, with independent juriſdiction[k]. Theſe men, choſen from inferior ſtations in various departments of public buſineſs at Madrid, were ſo much elevated with their promotion, that they thought they were called to act a part of the firſt conſequence. But being accuſtomed to the minute formalities of office, and having contracted the narrow ideas ſuited to the ſphere in which they had hitherto moved, they

1524. were aſtoniſhed on arriving in Mexico, at the high authority which Cortes exerciſed, and could not conceive that the mode of adminiſtration, in a country recently ſubdued and ſettled, muſt be different from what took place in one where tranquillity and regular government had been long eſtabliſhed. In their let-

[i] Cortes Relat. 283. F. B. Diaz. c. 209.
[k] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 3.

ters, they repreſented Cortes as an ambitious tyrant, who having uſurped a juriſdiction ſuperior to law, aſpired at independence, and by his exorbitant wealth and extenſive influence might accompliſh thoſe diſloyal ſchemes which he apparently meditated [l]. Theſe inſinuations made ſuch deep impreſſion upon the Spaniſh miniſters, moſt of whom had been formed to buſineſs under the jealous and rigid adminiſtration of Ferdinand, that, unmindful of all Cortes's paſt ſervices, and regardleſs of what he was then ſuffering in conducting that extraordinary expedition, in which he advanced from the lake of Mexico to the weſtern extremities of Honduras [m], they infuſed the ſame ſuſpicions into the mind of their maſter, and prevailed on him to order a ſolemn inqueſt to be made into his conduct, with powers to the licentiate Ponce de Leon, entruſted with that commiſſion, to ſeize his perſon, if he ſhould find that expedient, and ſend him priſoner to Spain [n]. BOOK V. 1524. 1525.

THE ſudden death of Ponce de Leon, a few days after his arrival in New Spain, prevented the execution of this commiſſion. But as the object of his appointment was known, the mind of Cortes was deeply wounded with this unex- Cortes returns to Spain.

[l] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. v. c. 14. [m] See NOTE VIII.
[n] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 14, 15.

pected

BOOK V. pected return for ſervices, which far exceeded whatever any ſubject of Spain had rendered to his ſovereign. He endeavoured, however, to maintain his ſtation, and to recover the confidence of the court. But every perſon in office, who had arrived from Spain ſince the conqueſt, was a ſpy upon his conduct, and with malicious ingenuity gave an unfavourable repreſentation of all his actions. The apprehenſions of Charles and his miniſters increaſed. A new commiſſion of enquiry was iſſued, with more extenſive powers, and various precautions were taken in order to prevent or to puniſh him, if he ſhould be ſo preſumptuous as to attempt what was inconſiſtent with the fidelity of a ſubject[o]. Cortes beheld the approaching criſis of his fortune with all the violent emotions natural to a haughty mind, conſcious of high deſert, and receiving unworthy treatment. But though ſome of his deſperate followers urged him to aſſert his own rights againſt his ungrateful country, and with a bold hand to ſeize that power which the courtiers meanly accuſed him of coveting[p], he retained ſuch ſelf-command, or was actuated with ſuch ſentiments of loyalty, as to reject their dangerous counſels, and to

1525.

1528.

[o] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 15. dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 1. lib. iv. c. 9, 10. B. Diaz. c. 172, 196. Gomara Cron. c. 166.

[p] B. Diaz. c. 194.

chuſe

chuſe the only courſe in which he could ſecure his own dignity, without departing from his duty. He reſolved not to expoſe himſelf to the ignominy of a trial, in that country which had been the ſcene of his triumphs; but without waiting for the arrival of his judges, to repair directly to Caſtile, and commit himſelf and his cauſe to the juſtice and generoſity of his ſovereign [q]. BOOK V. 1528.

His reception there.

CORTES appeared in his native country with the ſplendour that ſuited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many jewels and ornaments of great value, ſeveral curious productions of the country [r], and was attended by ſome Mexicans of the firſt rank, as well as by the moſt conſiderable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain removed at once every ſuſpicion and fear that had been entertained with reſpect to his intentions. The Emperor, having now nothing to apprehend from the deſigns of Cortes, received him like a perſon whom conſciouſneſs of his own innocence had brought into the preſence of his maſter, and who was entitled, by the eminence of his ſervices, to the higheſt marks of diſtinction and reſpect. The order of St. Jago, the title of

[q] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 8.

[r] See NOTE IX.

BOOK V. Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of an ample territory in New Spain, were ſucceſſively beſtowed upon him; and as his manners were correct and elegant, although he had paſſed the greater part of his life among rough adventurers, the Emperor admitted him to the ſame familiar intercourſe with himſelf, that was enjoyed by noblemen of the firſt rank [1].

1528.

Settlement of the government in New Spain.

But, amidſt thoſe external proofs of regard, ſymptoms of remaining diſtruſt appeared. Though Cortes earneſtly ſolicited to be reinſtated in the government of New Spain, Charles, too ſagacious to commit ſuch an important charge to a man whom he had once ſuſpected, peremptorily refuſed to inveſt him again with powers which he might find it impoſſible to controul. Cortes, though dignified with new titles, returned to Mexico with diminiſhed authority. The military department, with powers to attempt new diſcoveries, was left in his hands; but the ſupreme direction of civil affairs was placed in a board, called *The Audience of New Spain*. At a ſubſequent period, when, upon the increaſe of the colony, the exertion of authority more united and

1530.

[1] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 1. lib. vi. c. 4. B. Diaz. c. 196. Gom. Cron. c. 192.

extenſive

extenſive became neceſſary, Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank, was ſent thither as *Viceroy*, to take the government into his hands. BOOK V. 1530.

THIS diviſion of power in New Spain proved, as was unavoidable, the ſource of perpetual diſſention, which embittered the life of Cortes, and thwarted all his ſchemes. As he had now no opportunity to diſplay his active talents but in attempting new diſcoveries, he formed various ſchemes for that purpoſe, all of which bear impreſſions of a genius that delighted in what was bold and ſplendid. He early entertained an idea, that, either by ſteering through the gulf of Florida along the eaſt coaſt of North America, ſome ſtrait would be found that communicated with the weſtern ocean; or that, by examining the iſthmus of Darien, ſome paſſage would be diſcovered between the North and South Seas[t]. But having been diſappointed in his expectations with reſpect to both, he now confined his views to ſuch voyages of diſcovery as he could make from the ports of New Spain in the South Sea. There he fitted out ſucceſſively ſeveral ſmall ſquadrons, which either periſhed in the attempt, or returned without making any diſcovery of New ſchemes of Cortes.

[t] Cortes Relat. Ram. iii. 294. B.

BOOK V.

moment. Cortes, weary of entrusting the conduct of his operations to others, took the command of a new armament in person, and, after enduring incredible hardships, and encountering dangers of every species, he discovered the large peninsula of California, and surveyed the greater part of the gulf which separates it from New Spain. The discovery of a country of such extent would have reflected credit on a common adventurer; but it could add little new honour to the name of Cortes, and was far from satisfying the sanguine expectations which he had formed [u]. Disgusted with ill success, to which he had not been accustomed, and weary of contesting with adversaries to whom he considered it as a disgrace to be opposed, he once more sought for redress in his native country.

1536.

1540.

His death.

But his reception there was very different from that which gratitude, and even decency, ought to have secured for him. The merit of his ancient exploits was already, in a great measure, forgotten, or eclipsed by the fame of recent and more valuable conquests in another quarter of America. No service of moment was now expected from a man of declining

[u] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 9, 10. dec. 8. lib. vi. c. 14. Venegas Hist. of Californ. i. 125. Lorenziana Hist. p. 322, &c.

years, and who begun to be unfortunate. The Emperor behaved to him with cold civility; his miniſters treated him ſometimes with neglect, ſometimes with inſolence. His grievances received no redreſs; his claims were urged without effect; and after ſeveral years ſpent in fruitleſs application to miniſters and judges, an occupation the moſt irkſome and mortifying to a man of high ſpirit, who had moved in a ſphere where he was more accuſtomed to command than to ſolicit, Cortes ended his days on the ſecond of December one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age. His fate was the ſame with that of all the perſons who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the diſcovery or conqueſt of the New World. Envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he ſerved, he has been admired and celebrated by ſucceeding ages. Which has formed the moſt juſt eſtimate of his character, an impartial conſideration of his actions muſt determine.

BOOK V. 1540.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK VI.

FROM the time that Nugnez de Balboa diſcovered the great Southern Ocean, and received the firſt obſcure hints concerning the opulent countries with which it might open a communication, the wiſhes and ſchemes of every enterpriſing perſon in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of thoſe unknown regions. In an age when the ſpirit of adventure was ſo ardent and vigorous, that large fortunes were waſted, and the moſt alarming dangers braved, in purſuit of diſcoveries merely poſſible, the fainteſt ray of hope was followed with an eager expectation, and the ſlighteſt information was ſuffi-

1523. Schemes for diſcovering Peru.

BOOK VI. 1523.

cient to inſpire ſuch perfect confidence, as conducted men to the moſt arduous undertakings [a],

Unſucceſsful for ſome time.

ACCORDINGLY, ſeveral armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take poſſeſſion of the countries to the eaſt of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders whoſe talents and reſources were unequal to the attempt [b]. As the excurſions of thoſe adventurers did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of Tierra Firmè, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with diſmal accounts concerning the diſtreſſes to which they had been expoſed, and the unpromiſing aſpect of the places which they had viſited. Damped by theſe tidings, the rage for diſcovery in that direction abated; and it became the general opinion, that Balboa had founded viſionary hopes, on the tale of an ignorant Indian, ill underſtood, or calculated to deceive.

1524. Undertaken by Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque.

BUT there were three perſons ſettled in Panama, on whom the circumſtances which deterred others made ſo little impreſſion, that at

[a] See NOTE X. [b] Calancha Coronica, p. 100.

the

the very moment when all conſidered Balboa's expectations of diſcovering a rich country, by ſteering towards the eaſt, as chimerical, they reſolved to attempt the execution of his ſcheme. The names of thoſe extraordinary men were Franciſco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural ſon of a gentleman of an honourable family by a very low woman, and, according to the cruel fate which often attends the offspring of unlawful love, had been ſo totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he ſeems to have deſtined him never to riſe beyond the condition of his mother. In conſequence of this ungenerous idea, he ſet him, when bordering on manhood, to keep hogs. But the aſpiring mind of young Pizarro diſdaining that ignoble occupation, he abruptly abandoned his charge, enliſted as a ſoldier, and, after ſerving ſome years in Italy, embarked for America, which, by opening ſuch a boundleſs range to active talents, allured every adventurer, whoſe fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. There Pizarro early diſtinguiſhed himſelf. With a temper of mind no leſs daring than the conſtitution of his body was robuſt, he was foremoſt in every danger, patient under the greateſt hardſhips, and unſubdued by any fatigue. Though ſo illiterate that he could not even read, he was ſoon con-

BOOK VI. 1524.

ſidered

BOOK VI. 1524. sidered as a man formed to command. Every operation committed to his conduct proved successful, as, by a happy but rare conjunction, he united perseverance with ardour, and was as cautious in executing, as he was bold in forming his plans. By engaging early in active life, without any resource but his own talents and industry, and by depending on himself alone in his struggles to emerge from obscurity, he acquired such a thorough knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was fitted to assume a superior part in conducting the former, and in governing the latter[c].

Almagro had as little to boast of his descent as Pizarro. The one was a bastard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the soldierly qualities of intrepid valour, indefatigable activity, or insurmountable constancy in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the New World. But in Almagro these virtues were accompanied with the openness, generosity, and candour, natural to men whose profession is arms; in Pizarro, they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician, with the art of

[c] Herrera, dec. 1 & 2, passim. dec. 4. lib. vi. c. 107. Gomara Hist. c. 144. Zarate, lib. 4. c. 9.

con-

concealing his own purpoſes, and with ſaga- BOOK VI.
city to penetrate into thoſe of other men. 1524.

HERNANDO DE LUQUE was an eccleſiaſtic, who acted both as prieſt and ſchoolmaſter at Panama, and, by means which the contemporary writers have not deſcribed, had amaſſed riches that inſpired him with thoughts of riſing to greater eminence.

SUCH were the men deſtined to overturn one of the moſt extenſive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpoſe was authorized by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the leaſt wealthy of the three, as he could not throw ſo large a ſum as his aſſociates into the common ſtock, engaged to take the department of greateſt fatigue and danger, and to command in perſon the armament which was to go firſt upon diſcovery. Almagro offered to conduct the ſupplies of proviſions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might ſtand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negociate with the governor, and ſuperintend whatever was carrying on for the general intereſt. As the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that ſtrange union both

Terms of their aſſociation.

BOOK VI. 1524. both acquired an increaſe of force, this confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the moſt ſolemn act of religion. Luque celebrated maſs, divided a conſecrated hoſt into three, and reſerving one part to himſelf, gave the other two to his aſſociates, of which they partook; and thus, in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodſhed were the objects [d].

Their firſt attempt.

THE attempt was begun with a force more ſuited to the humble condition of the three aſſociates, than to the greatneſs of the enterpriſe in which they were engaged. Pizarro ſet ſail from Panama with a ſingle veſſel, of ſmall burden, and a hundred and twelve men. But in that age, ſo little were the Spaniards acquainted with the peculiarities of climate in America, that the time which Pizarro choſe for his departure was the moſt improper in the whole year; the periodical winds which were then ſet in, being directly adverſe to the courſe which he propoſed to ſteer [e]. After beating about for ſeventy days, with much danger and inceſſant fatigue, Pizarro's progreſs towards the ſouth-eaſt

Nov. 14.

[d] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. c. 13. Zarate, lib. 1. c. 1.
[e] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 8. Xerez, p. 179.

was

was not greater than what a ſkilful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched at ſeveral places on the coaſt of Tierra Firmè, but found everywhere the ſame uninviting country which former adventurers had deſcribed; the low grounds converted into ſwamps by an overflowing of rivers; the higher, covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants, and thoſe fierce and hoſtile. Famine, fatigue, frequent rencounters with the natives, and above all, the diſtempers of a moiſt, ſultry climate, combined in waſting his ſlender band of followers. The undaunted reſolution of their leader continued, however, for ſome time, to ſuſtain their ſpirits, although no ſign had yet appeared of diſcovering thoſe golden regions to which he had promiſed to conduct them. At length he was obliged to abandon that inhoſpitable coaſt, and retire to Chuchama, oppoſite to the pearl iſlands, where he hoped to receive a ſupply of proviſions and troops from Panama.

BOOK VI. 1525.

Attended with little ſucceſs.

But Almagro having ſailed from that port with ſeventy men, ſtood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his aſſociate. Not finding him there, he landed his ſoldiers, who, in ſearching for their companions, underwent the ſame diſtreſſes, and were expoſed to the ſame dangers, which

BOOK VI. which had driven them out of the country. Repulſed at length by the Indians in a ſharp conflict, in which their leader loſt one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewiſe were compelled to reimbark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found ſome conſolation in recounting to each other their adventures, and comparing their ſufferings. As Almagro had advanced as far as the river St. Juan, in the province of Popayan, where both the country and inhabitants appeared with a more promiſing aſpect, that dawn of better fortune was ſufficient to determine ſuch ſanguine projectors not to abandon their ſcheme, notwithſtanding all that they had ſuffered in proſecuting it[f].

1525.

June 24.

1526. They reſume the undertaking.

Almagro repaired to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their ſhattered troops. But what he and Pizarro had ſuffered, gave his countrymen ſuch an unfavourable idea of the ſervice, that it was with difficulty he could levy fourſcore men[g]. Feeble as this reinforcement was, Almagro took the command of it, and having joined Pizarro, they did not heſitate about reſuming their operations. After a long ſeries of diſaſters and diſappointments, not inferior to thoſe which they had already ex-

[f] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 11, 12. See NOTE XI.
[g] Zarate, lib. i. c. 1.

perienced,

perienced, part of the armament reached the Bay of St. Matthew, on the coaſt of Quito, and landing at Tacamez, to the ſouth of the river of Emeraulds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet diſcovered in the Southern Ocean, the natives clad in garments of woollen or cotton ſtuff, and adorned with ſeveral trinkets of gold and ſilver. BOOK VI. 1526.

But, notwithſtanding thoſe favourable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of the perſons who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of thoſe who liſtened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durſt not venture to invade a country ſo populous with a handful of men enfeebled by fatigue and diſeaſes. They retired to the ſmall iſland of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his aſſociate returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing ſuch a reinforcement as might enable them to take poſſeſſion of the opulent territorries, whoſe exiſtence ſeemed to be no longer doubtful[b].

But ſome of the adventurers, leſs enterpriſing, or leſs hardy than their leaders, having Pizarro recalled by the governor of Panama.

[b] Xerez, 181. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 13.

BOOK VI. 1526.

ſecretly conveyed lamentable accounts of their ſufferings and loſſes to their friends at Panama; Almagro met with an unfavourable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had ſucceeded Pedrarias in the government of that ſettlement. After weighing the matter with that cold œconomical prudence, which appears the firſt of all virtues to perſons whoſe limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing great deſigns, he concluded an expedition, attended with ſuch certain waſte of men, to be ſo detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raiſing of new levies, but diſpatched a veſſel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the iſland of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with thoſe meaſures, which they could not prevent, and durſt not oppoſe, found means of communicating their ſentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquiſh an enterpriſe that was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of re-eſtabliſhing their reputation and fortune, which were both on the decline. Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obſtinacy on all its purpoſes, needed no incentive to perſiſt in the ſcheme. He peremptorily refuſed to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in perſuading his men not to abandon him. But the incredible calamities

Perſiſts in his deſigns.

to

to which they had been expoſed were ſtill ſo recent in their memories, and the thoughts of reviſiting their families and friends after a long abſence, ruſhed with ſuch joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the ſand with his ſword, permitting ſuch as wiſhed to return home to paſs over it, only thirteen of all the daring veterans in his ſervice had reſolution to remain with their commander[i].

1526.

This ſmall, but determined band, whoſe names the Spaniſh hiſtorians record with deſerved praiſe, as the perſons to whoſe perſevering fortitude their country is indebted for the moſt valuable of all its American poſſeſſions, fixed their reſidence in the iſland of Gorgona. This, as it was farther removed from the coaſt than Gallo, and uninhabited, they conſidered as a more ſecure retreat, where, unmoleſted, they might wait for ſupplies from Panama, which they truſted that the activity of their aſſociates would be able to procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold ſolicitors, and their inceſſant importunity was ſeconded by the general voice of the colony, which exclaimed loudly againſt the infamy of

[i] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 2, 3. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2. Xerez, 181. Gomara Hiſt. c. 109.

 expoſing

BOOK VI. 1526.

expoſing brave men, engaged in the public ſervice, and chargeable with no error, but what flowed from an exceſs of zeal and courage, to periſh like the moſt odious criminals in a deſert iſland. Overcome by thoſe entreaties and expoſtulations, the governor at laſt conſented to ſend a ſmall veſſel to their relief. But that he might not ſeem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterpriſe, he would not permit one landman to embark on board of it.

Hardſhips he endured.

By this time, Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an iſland, infamous for the moſt unhealthy climate in that region of America[k]. During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of ſucour from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitleſs expectations, and diſpirited with ſuffering hardſhips of which they ſaw no end, they, in deſpair, came to a reſolution of committing themſelves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that deteſtable abode. But, on the arrival of the veſſel from Panama, they were tranſported with ſuch joy, that all their ſufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived, and, with a rapid tranſition, not unnatural among men accuſtomed by their mode of life to ſudden viciſſi-

[k] See NOTE XII.

tudes

tudes of fortune, high confidence ſucceeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro eaſily induced not only his own followers, but the crew of the veſſel from Panama, to reſume his former ſcheme with freſh ardour. Inſtead of returning to Panama, they ſtood towards the ſouth-eaſt, and more fortunate in this than in any of their paſt efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, diſcovered the coaſt of Peru. After touching at ſeveral villages near the ſhore, which they found to be no wiſe inviting, they landed at Tumbez, a place of ſome note, about three degrees ſouth of the line, diſtinguiſhed for its ſtately temple, and a palace of the *Incas* or ſovereigns of the country [1]. There the Spaniards feaſted their eyes with the firſt view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled, and cultivated with an appearance of regular induſtry; the natives decently clothed, and poſſeſſed of ingenuity ſo far ſurpaſſing the other inhabitants of the New World, as to have the uſe of tame domeſtic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice, was ſuch a ſhow of gold and ſilver, not only in the ornaments of their perſons and temples, but in ſeveral veſſels and utenſils for

BOOK VI. 1526.

Diſcovers Peru.

[1] Calancha, p. 103.

BOOK VI. common uſe, formed of thoſe precious metals, as left no room to doubt that they abounded with profuſion in the country. Pizarro and his companions ſeemed now to have attained to the completion of their moſt ſanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wiſhes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhauſtible treaſures, would ſoon be realized.

1526.

Returns to Panama.

BUT with the ſlender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain poſſeſſion. He ranged, however, for ſome time along the coaſt, maintaining everywhere a peaceable intercourſe with the natives, no leſs aſtoniſhed at their new viſitants, than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld.

1527. Having explored the country as far as was requiſite to aſcertain the importance of the diſcovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants ſome of their *Llamas* or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of ſheep, ſome veſſels of gold and ſilver, as well as ſome ſpecimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he propoſed to inſtruct in the Caſtilian language, that they might ſerve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With theſe he arrived at Panama, towards the

the close of the third year from the time of his departure thence[m]. No adventurer of the age suffered hardships or encountered dangers which equal those to which he was exposed during this long period. The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he surmounted the other, exceed whatever is recorded in the history of the New World, where so many romantic displays of those virtues occur. 1527.

1528. New schemes of the associates.

NEITHER the splendid relation that Pizarro gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had discovered, nor his bitter complaints on account of that unseasonable recal of his forces, which had put it out of his power to attempt making any settlement there, could move the governor of Panama to swerve from his former plan of conduct. He still contended, that the colony was not in a condition to invade such a mighty empire, and refused to authorise an expedition which he foresaw would be so alluring that it might ruin the province in which he presided, by an effort beyond its strength. His coldness, however, did not in any degree abate the

[m] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 3—6. dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 7, 8. Vega, 2. lib. i. c. 10—14. Zarate, lib. i. c. 3. Benzo Hist. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 1.

BOOK VI. 1528.

ardour of the three aſſociates; but they perceived that they could not carry their ſcheme into execution without the countenance of ſuperior authority, and muſt ſolicit their ſovereign to grant that permiſſion which they could not extort from his delegate. With this view, after adjuſting among themſelves, that Pizarro ſhould claim the ſtation of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of biſhop in the country which they purpoſed to conquer, they ſent Pizarro as their agent to Spain, though their fortunes were now ſo much exhauſted by the repeated efforts which they had made, that they found ſome difficulty in borrowing the ſmall ſum requiſite towards equipping him for the voyage[n].

Pizarro ſent to Spain to negociate.

PIZARRO loſt no time in repairing to court, and new as the ſcene might be to him, he appeared before the Emperor with the unembarraſſed dignity of a man conſcious of what his ſervices merited; and he conducted his negociations with an inſinuating dexterity of addreſs, which could not have been expected either from his education or former habits of life. His feeling deſcription of his own ſufferings, and his pompous account of the coun-

[n] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 1. Vega, 2. lib. i. c. 14.

try which he had diſcovered, confirmed by the ſpecimens of its productions which he exhibited, made ſuch an impreſſion both on Charles and his miniſters, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but ſeemed to be intereſted in the ſucceſs of its leader. Preſuming on thoſe diſpoſitions in his favour, Pizarro paid little attention to the intereſt of his aſſociates. As the pretenſions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the eccleſiaſtical dignity to which he aſpired. For Almagro, he claimed only the command of the fortreſs which ſhould be erected at Tumbez. To himſelf he ſecured whatever his boundleſs ambition could deſire. He was appointed governor, captain-general, and adelantado of all the country which he had diſcovered, and hoped to conquer, with ſupreme authority, civil as well as military; and with full right to all the privileges and emoluments uſually granted to adventurers in the New World. His juriſdiction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coaſt to the ſouth of the river St. Jago; to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to ſerve under him. In return for thoſe conceſſions, which coſt the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the ſucceſs

BOOK VI. 1528.

Neglects his aſſociates.

July 26. and procures the ſupreme command to himſelf.

BOOK VI. 1528. of Pizarro's own efforts, he engaged to raiſe two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ſhips, arms, and warlike ſtores requiſite towards ſubjecting to the crown of Caſtile the country of which the government was allotted him.

Slender force he was able to raiſe. 1529.

INCONSIDERABLE as the body of men was which Pizarro had undertaken to raiſe, his funds and credit were ſo low that he could hardly complete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to ſteal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the ſcrutiny of the officers who had it in charge to examine, whether he had fulfilled the ſtipulations in his contract[o]. Before his departure, however, he received ſome ſupply of money from Cortes, who having returned to Spain about this time, was willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whoſe talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory ſimilar to that which he himſelf had finiſhed[p].

HE landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched acroſs the iſthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo,

[o] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. [p] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 10.

zalo, of whom the firſt was born in lawful wed- BOOK VI.
lock, the two latter, like himſelf, were of illegiti- 1529.
mate birth, and by Franciſco de Alcantara, his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of ſuch abilities and courage, as fitted them to take a diſtinguiſhed part in his ſubſequent tranſactions.

On his arrival at Panama, Pizarro found Almagro ſo much exaſperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negociation, that he not only refuſed to act any longer in concert with a man by whoſe perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honours to which he had a juſt claim, but laboured to form a new aſſociation, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his diſcoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wiſdom and addreſs than to ſuffer a rupture ſo fatal to all his ſchemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquiſh the office of adelantado, and promiſing to concur in ſoliciting that title, with an independent government, for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted ſoldier, which had been violent, but was not implacable. Luque, highly ſatisfied with having been ſucceſsful in all his own pretenſions, cordially ſeconded Pizarro's endeavours. A reconciliation was effected, and the confederacy re- 1530. His reconciliation with Almagro.

BOOK VI. 1530. newed on its original terms, that the enterprize ſhould be carried on at the common expence of the aſſociates, and the profits accruing from it ſhould be equally divided among them [q].

Their armament. EVEN after their re-union, and the utmoſt efforts of their intereſt, three ſmall veſſels, with a hundred and eighty ſoldiers, thirty-ſix of whom were horſemen, compoſed the armament which they were able to fit out. But the aſtoniſhing progreſs of the Spaniards in America had inſpired them with ſuch ideas of their own ſuperiority, that Pizarro did not 1531. February. heſitate to ſail with this contemptible force to invade a great empire. Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcement of men he ſhould be able to muſter. As the ſeaſon for embarking was properly choſen, and the courſe of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days; though, by the force of the winds and currents, he was carried above a hundred leagues to the north of Tumbez, the Lands in Peru. place of his deſtination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. With-

[q] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. i. c. 3. Vega, 2. lib. i. c. 14.

out

out loſing a moment, he began to advance to- BOOK
wards the ſouth, taking care, however, not to VI.
depart far from the ſea-ſhore, both that he 1531.
might eaſily effect a junction with the ſupplies which he expected from Panama, and ſecure a retreat in caſe of any diſaſter, by keeping as near as poſſible to his ſhips. But as the country in ſeveral parts on the coaſt of Peru is barren, unhealthful, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to paſs all the rivers near their mouth, where the body of water is greateſt, and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the natives when he ſhould have ſtudied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and diſeaſes of various kinds, brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to thoſe which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced correſponded ſo ill with the alluring deſcription of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every ſoldier muſt have become cold to the ſervice, if even in this unfertile region of Peru they had not met with ſome appearances of wealth and cultivation, which ſeemed to juſtify the report of their leader. At length they reached the April 14.
province of Coaque; and, having ſurprized the principal ſettlement of the natives, they ſeized their veſſels and ornaments of gold and ſilver,

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silver, to the amount of thirty thousand pesos, with other booty of such value, as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes [r].

His measures for obtaining a reinforcement.

Pizarro himself was so much delighted with this rich spoil, which he considered as the first fruits of a land abounding with treasure, that he instantly dispatched one of his ships to Panama with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua with a considerable sum to several persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers, by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coast, and disdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives but force, he attacked them with such violence in their scattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to submit to his yoke. This sudden appearance of invaders, whose aspect and manners were so strange, and whose power seemed to be so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with resistance until he attacked the island of Puna in the bay of Guayquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which

[r] Herrera, dec. 4, lib. vii. c. 9. lib. ii. c. i. Xerez, 182.

he

he had paſſed, and its inhabitants fiercer and leſs civilized than thoſe of the continent, they defended themſelves with ſuch obſtinate valour, that Pizarro ſpent ſix months in reducing them to ſubjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the diſtempers which raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months[s]. BOOK VI. 1531.

WHILE he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his attention to ſpread the fame of his firſt ſucceſs to Coaque. Two different detachments arrived from Nicaragua, which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he conſidered as a reinforcement of great conſequence to his feeble band, eſpecially as the one was under the command of Sebaſtian Benalcazar, and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had ſerved in America. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura, and in an advantageous ſtation near the mouth of it, he eſtabliſhed the firſt Spaniſh colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael. Receives ſome, and continues to advance. 1532. May 16.

[s] P. Sancho ap. Ramuſ. iii. p. 371. F. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 18. lib. ix. c. i. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 2, 3. Xerez, p. 182, &c.

As

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As Pizarro continued to advance towards the centre of the Peruvian empire, he gradually received more full information concerning its extent and policy, as well as the ſituation of its affairs at that juncture. Without ſome knowledge of theſe, he could not have conducted his operations with propriety; and without a ſuitable attention to them, it is impoſſible to account for the progreſs which the Spaniards had already made, or to unfold the cauſes of their ſubſequent ſucceſs.

State of the Peruvian empire.

At the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its ſovereigns extended in length from north to ſouth, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacific ocean. Its breadth, from eaſt to weſt, was much leſs conſiderable; being uniformly bounded by the vaſt ridge of the Andes, ſtretching from its one extremity to the other. Peru, like the reſt of the New World, was originally poſſeſſed by ſmall independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were ſo little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preſerved among their deſcendants, deſerve credit, they muſt be claſſed among the moſt unimproved ſavages of America. Strangers to every ſpecies of

of cultivation or regular induſtry, without any fixed reſidence, and unacquainted with thoſe ſentiments and obligations which form the firſt bonds of ſocial union, they are ſaid to have roamed about naked in the foreſts, with which the country was then covered, more like wild beaſts than like men. After they had ſtruggled for ſeveral ages with the hardſhips and calamities which are inevitable in ſuch a ſtate, and when no circumſtance ſeemed to indicate the approach of any uncommon effort towards improvement, we are told that there appeared, on the banks of the lake Titiaca, a man and woman of majeſtic form, clothed in decent garments. They declared themſelves to be children of the Sun, ſent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miſeries of the human race, to inſtruct and to reclaim them. At their perſuaſion, enforced by reverence for the divinity in whoſe name they were ſuppoſed to ſpeak, ſeveral of the diſperſed ſavages united together, and receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they ſettled, and began to lay the foundations of a city. BOOK VI. 1532.

Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, for ſuch were the names of thoſe extraordinary perſonages,

BOOK VI. 1532. ages, having thus collected ſome wandering tribes, formed that ſocial union, which, by multiplying the deſires, and uniting the efforts of the human ſpecies, excites induſtry, and leads to improvement. Manco Capac inſtructed the men in agriculture, and other uſeful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to ſpin and to weave. By the labour of the one ſex, ſubſiſtence became leſs precarious; by that of the other, life was rendered more comfortable. After ſecuring the objects of firſt neceſſity in an infant ſtate, by providing food, raiment, and habitations, for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing ſuch laws and policy as might perpetuate their happineſs. By his inſtitutions, which ſhall be more particularly explained hereafter, the various relations in private life were eſtabliſhed, and the duties reſulting from them preſcribed with ſuch propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of manners. In public adminiſtration, the functions of perſons in authority were ſo preciſely defined, and the ſubordination of thoſe under their juriſdiction maintained with ſuch a ſteady hand, that the ſociety in which he preſided, ſoon aſſumed the aſpect of a regular and well-governed ſtate.

THUS,

THUS, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the *Incas* or *Lords* of Peru. At firſt its extent was ſmall. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco. But within its narrow precincts he exerciſed abſolute and uncontrolled authority. His ſucceſſors, as their dominions extended, arrogated a ſimilar juriſdiction over the new ſubjects which they acquired; the deſpotiſm of Aſia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be ſacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family, thus ſeparated from the reſt of the nation, was diſtinguiſhed by peculiarities in dreſs and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to aſſume. The monarch himſelf appeared with enſigns of royalty reſerved for him alone; and received from his ſubjects marks of obſequious homage and reſpect, which approached almoſt to adoration. 1532.

BUT, among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarchs ſeems to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their ſubjects. It was not the rage of conqueſt, if we may believe the accounts of

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their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominions, but the desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they possessed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a succession of twelve monarchs, it is said that not one deviated from this beneficent character[t].

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province, which he had added to his dominions; and, notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at

[t] Cieca de Leon, Chron. c. 44. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 4. dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 17.

Quito,

Quito, which ſeems to have happened about the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-nine, he appointed his ſucceſſor in that kingdom, leaving the reſt of his dominions to Huaſcar, his eldeſt ſon, by another of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with greater reputation and ſplendour than any of his predeceſſors, the deſtination of Huana Capac concerning the ſucceſſion, appeared ſo repugnant to a maxim coëval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed ſacred, that it was no ſooner known at Cuzco than it excited general diſguſt. Encouraged by thoſe ſentiments of his ſubjects, Huaſcar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful ſuperior. But it had been the firſt care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. Theſe were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whoſe valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their ſupport, Atahualpa firſt eluded his brother's demand, and then marched againſt him in hoſtile array. BOOK VI. 1532.

THUS the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient uſage, and that of the other aſſerted by the veteran troops,

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involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which, under a ſucceſſion of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a ſtranger. In ſuch a conteſt the iſſue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel uſe of his victory. Conſcious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the Sun deſcended from Manco Capac, whom he could ſeize either by force or ſtratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huaſcar, who had been taken priſoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for ſome time, that by iſſuing orders in his name, the uſurper might more eaſily eſtabliſh his own authority [u].

Favourable to the progreſs of Pizarro.

WHEN Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greateſt fury. Had he made any hoſtile attempt in his former viſit to Peru in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven, he muſt then have encountered the force of a powerful ſtate, united under a monarch, poſſeſſed of capacity as well as courage, and

[u] Zarate, lib i. c. 15. Vega, 1. lib. ix. c. 12 and 32—40. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 2. lib. iii. c. 17.

unem-

unembarraſſed with any care that could divert him from oppoſing his progreſs. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were ſo intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more intereſting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconſiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom, it would be eaſy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leiſure.

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He avails himſelf of it and advances

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foreſight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourſe with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmoleſted, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to ſtop his career. During their progreſs, the Spaniards had acquired ſome imperfect knowledge of this ſtruggle between the two contending factions. The firſt complete information with reſpect to it, they received from meſſengers whom Huaſcar ſent to Pizarro, in order to ſolicit his aid againſt Atahualpa, whom he repreſented as a rebel and an uſurper[w]. Pizarro perceived at once the importance of

[w] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 3.

BOOK VI. 1532.

this intelligence, and foreſaw ſo clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided ſtate of the kingdom, which he had invaded, that without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to puſh forward, while inteſtine diſcord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumſtances ſhould incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater eaſe to cruſh both. Enterpriſing as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations againſt Americans, and diſtinguiſhed as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that after having proceeded hitherto ſlowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his ſyſtem of operation, and have ventured upon a meaſure ſo hazardous, without ſome new motive or proſpect to juſtify it.

State of his forces.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garriſon in St. Michael, ſufficent to defend a ſtation of equal importance as a place of retreat in caſe of any diſaſter, and as a port for receiving any ſupplies which ſhould come from Panama, he began his march with a very ſlender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They conſiſted of ſixty-two horſemen,

men [x], and a hundred and two foot-ſoldiers, of whom twenty were armed with croſs-bows, and three with muſkets. He directed his courſe towards Caxamalca, a ſmall town at the diſtance of twelve days march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a conſiderable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer diſpatched by the Inca met him with a valuable preſent from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and aſſurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the uſual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambaſſador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpha his aid againſt thoſe enemies who diſputed his title to the throne [y].

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As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehenſible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they ſhould conſider their new gueſts as beings of a ſuperior nature, who had viſited them from ſome beneficent motive, or as

Ideas of the Peruvians concerning their deſigns.

[x] See NOTE XIII.

[y] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 3. Xerez, p. 189.

BOOK VI. formidable avengers of their crimes and enemies to their repoſe and liberty. The continual profeſſions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happineſs, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciouſneſs and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this ſtate of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions ſo far removed all the Inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In conſequence of this reſolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity acroſs the ſandy deſert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the moſt feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable diſtreſſes which they ſuffered in paſſing through that comfortleſs region, muſt have proved fatal to them [z]. From Motupè they advanced towards the mountains which encompaſſed the low country of Peru, and paſſed through a defile ſo narrow and inacceſſible, that a few men might have defended it againſt a numerous army. But here likewiſe, from the ſame inconſiderate credulity of the Inca, the Spaniards met with no oppoſition, and took quiet poſſeſſion of a fort erected for the ſecurity of that

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[z] See NOTE XIV.

important

important ſtation. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his profeſſions of friendſhip; and as an evidence of their ſincerity, ſent them preſents of greater value than the former. BOOK VI. 1532.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took poſſeſſion of a large court, on one ſide of which was a houſe which the Spaniſh hiſtorians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole ſurrounded with a ſtrong rampart or wall of earth. When he had poſted his troops in this advantageous ſtation, he diſpatched his brother Ferdinand and Hernando Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league diſtant from the town. He inſtructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific diſpoſition, and to deſire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in viſiting his country. They were treated with all the reſpectful hoſpitality uſual among the Peruvians in the reception of their moſt cordial friends, and Atahualpa promiſed to viſit the Spaniſh commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his ſubjects approached his perſon Arrive at Caxamalca.

and

BOOK VI. 1532.

and obeyed his commands, aſtoniſhed thoſe Spaniards, who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cazique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were ſtill powerfully attracted by the vaſt profuſion of wealth which they obſerved in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the veſſels of gold and ſilver in which the repaſt offered to them was ſerved up, the multitude of utenſils of every kind formed of thoſe precious metals, opened proſpects far exceeding any idea of opulence that an European of the ſixteenth century could form.

Perfidious ſcheme of Pizarro.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and deſire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave ſuch a deſcription of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a reſolution which he had already taken. From his own obſervation of American manners during his long ſervice in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from ſeizing Montezuma, he knew of what conſequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpoſe, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithſtanding the character that he had aſſumed of an ambaſſador from a powerful monarch, who courted an

an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendſhip and aſſiſtance, he determined to avail himſelf of the unſuſpicious ſimplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his profeſſions, and to ſeize the perſon of the Inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his ſcheme with the ſame deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no diſgrace on himſelf or his country. He divided his cavalry into three ſmall ſquadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of moſt tried courage, whom he kept near his own perſon to ſupport him in the dangerous ſervice which he reſerved for himſelf; the artillery, conſiſting of two field-pieces[a], and the croſs-bowmen, were placed oppoſite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the ſquare, and not to move until the ſignal for action was given. BOOK VI. 1532.

EARLY in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was ſolicitous to appear with the greateſt ſplendour and magnificence in his firſt interview with Nov 16. Viſited by the Inca.

[a] Xerez, p. 194.

the

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the ſtrangers, the preparations for this were ſo tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, leſt the order of the proceſſion ſhould be deranged, he moved ſo ſlowly, that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehenſive that ſome ſuſpicion of their intention might be the cauſe of this delay. In order to remove this Pizarro diſpatched one of his officers with freſh aſſurances of his friendly diſpoſition. At length the Inca approached. Firſt of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dreſs, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himſelf, ſitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colours, and almoſt covered with plates of gold and ſilver enriched with precious ſtones, was carried on the ſhoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came ſome chief officers of his court, carried in the ſame manner. Several bands of ſingers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thouſand men.

Strange harangue of father Valverde.

As the Inca drew near the Spaniſh quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long diſcourſe explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the ſufferings

ſufferings and reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the tranſmiſſion of his apoſtolic power by ſucceſſion to the Popes, the donation made to the King of Caſtile by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In conſequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Chriſtian faith, to acknowledge the ſupreme juriſdiction of the Pope, and to ſubmit to the King of Caſtile as his lawful ſovereign; promiſing, if he complied inſtantly with this requiſition, that the Caſtilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exerciſe of his royal authority; but if he ſhould impiouſly refuſe to obey this ſummons, he denounced war againſt him in his maſter's name, and threatened him with the moſt dreadful effects of his vengeance. BOOK VI. 1532.

Reply of the Inca.

THIS ſtrange harangue, unfolding deep myſteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a diſtinct idea to an American, was ſo lamely tranſlated by an unſkilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spaniſh tongue, and incapable of expreſſing himſelf with propriety in the language of the Inca, that it's general tenor was altogether incom-

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prehenſible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with aſtoniſhment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with obſerving, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary ſucceſſion; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign prieſt ſhould pretend to diſpoſe of territories which did not belong to him; that if ſuch a prepoſterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful poſſeſſor, refuſed to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors; nor would he forſake the ſervice of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worſhip the God of the Spaniards, who was ſubject to death; that with reſpect to other matters contained in his diſcourſe, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now underſtand their meaning, he deſired to know where the prieſt had learned things ſo extraordinary. "In this book," anſwered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This," ſays he, "is ſilent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it with diſdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried

out, "To arms, Chriſtians, to arms; the word of God is inſulted; avenge this profanation on thoſe impious dogs [b]." BOOK VI. 1532.

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty reſtrained his ſoldiers, eager to ſeize the rich ſpoils of which they had now ſo near a view, immediately gave the ſignal of aſſault. At once the martial muſic ſtruck up, the cannon and muſkets began to fire, the horſe ſallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry ruſhed on ſword in hand. The Peruvians aſtoniſhed at the ſuddenneſs of an attack which they did not expect, and diſmayed with the deſtructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irreſiſtible impreſſion of the cavalry, fled with univerſal conſternation on every ſide, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themſelves. Pizarro, at the head of his choſen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in ſacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the ſacred perſon of their ſovereign, the Spaniards ſoon penetrated to the royal ſeat; and Pizarro ſeizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to Pizarro attacks the Peruvians, and ſeizes the Inca.

[b] See NOTE XV.

the

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the ground, and carried him as a priſoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increaſed the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards purſued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to ſlaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to reſiſt. The carnage did not ceaſe until the cloſe of day. Above four thouſand Peruvians were killed. Not a ſingle Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himſelf, whoſe hand was ſlightly hurt by one of his own ſoldiers, while ſtruggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca [c].

THE plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru, and they were ſo tranſported with the value of the acquiſition, as well as the greatneſs of their ſucceſs, that they paſſed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on ſuch an extraordinary change of fortune.

Dejection of the Inca.

AT firſt the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he ſo little expected to be real. But he ſoon felt all the miſery of his fate, and the dejection into which he ſunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from

[c] See NOTE XVI.

which

which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of loſing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the poſſeſſion of ſuch a priſoner, laboured to conſole him with profeſſions of kindneſs and reſpect, that correſponded ill with his actions. By reſiding among the Spaniards, the Inca quickly diſcovered their ruling paſſion, which, indeed they were no-wiſe ſolicitous to conceal, and by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ranſom what aſtoniſhed the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and ſixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with veſſels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro cloſed eagerly with this tempting propoſal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the ſtipulated height to which the treaſure was to riſe.

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His offer of a ranſom.

Atahualpa, tranſported with having obtained ſome proſpect of liberty, took meaſures inſtantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by ſending meſſengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amaſſed in largeſt quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houſes of the Inca, to bring what was neceſſary for completing his

BOOK VI. 1532.

ransom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atahualpa was now in the custody of his enemies, yet so much were the Peruvians accustomed to respect every mandate issued by their sovereign, that his orders were executed with the greatest alacrity. Soothed with hopes of recovering his liberty by this means, the subjects of the Inca were afraid of endangering his life by forming any other scheme for his relief; and though the force of the empire was still entire, no preparations were made, and no army assembled to avenge their own wrongs or those of their monarch[d]. The Spaniards remained in Caxamalca tranquil and unmolested.

The Spaniards visit different provinces.

Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and, instead of meeting with any opposition, were every where received with marks of the most submissive respect[e].

Almagro arrives with a reinforcement.

INCONSIDERABLE as those parties were, and desirous as Pizarro might be to obtain some knowledge of the interior state of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of his main body, if he had not about this time received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with such a reinforcement as would almost double the number of

December.

[d] Xerez, 205.

[e] See NOTE XVII.

his

his followers[f]. The arrival of this long-expected succour was not more agreeable to the Spaniards than alarming to the Inca. He saw the power of his enemies encrease; and as he knew neither the source whence they derived their supplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might rise. While disquieted with such apprehensions, he learned that some Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huascar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his own cause, and as an inducement to espouse it, had promised them a quantity of treasure greatly beyond that which Atahualpa had engaged to pay for his ransom. If the Spaniards should listen to this proposal, Atahualpa perceived his own destruction to be inevitable; and suspecting that their insatiable thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favourable ear to it, he determined to sacrifice his brother's life, that he might save his own; and his orders for this purpose were executed, like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality[g].

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1533. Huascar put to death.

[f] Xerez, 204. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 1, 2.

[g] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Gomara Hist. c. 115. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 2.

BOOK VI.

1533. The Spaniards make a diviſion of the ſpoil.

MEANWHILE, Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treaſure. A great part of the ſtipulated quantity was now amaſſed, and Atahualpa aſſured the Spaniards, that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteneſs of the provinces where it was depoſited. But ſuch vaſt piles of gold preſented continually to the view of needy ſoldiers, had ſo inflamed their avarice, that it was impoſſible any longer to reſtrain their impatience to obtain poſſeſſion of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the whole, except ſome pieces of curious fabric, reſerved as a preſent for the Emperor. After ſetting apart the fifth due to the crown, and a hundred thouſand peſos as a donative to the ſoldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thouſand five hundred peſos to Pizarro and his followers. The feſtival of St. James, the patron ſaint of Spain, was the day choſen for the partition of this enormous ſum, and the manner of conducting it ſtrongly marks the ſtrange alliance of fanaticiſm with avarice, which I have more than once had occaſion to point out as a ſtriking feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Though aſſembled to divide the ſpoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit,

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extortion, and cruelty, the tranſaction began with a ſolemn invocation of the name of God[h], as if they could have expected the guidance of Heaven in diſtributing thoſe wages of iniquity. In this diviſion above eight thouſand peſos, at that time not inferior in effective value to as many pounds ſterling in the preſent century, fell to the ſhare of each horſeman, and half that ſum to each foot ſoldier. Pizarro himſelf, and his officers, received dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank. BOOK VI. 1533.

THERE is no example in hiſtory of ſuch a ſudden acquiſition of wealth by military ſervice, nor was ever a ſum ſo great divided among ſo ſmall a number of ſoldiers. Many of them having received a recompence for their ſervices far beyond their moſt ſanguine hopes, were ſo impatient to retire from fatigue and danger, in order to ſpend the remainder of their days in their native country in eaſe and opulence, that they demanded their diſcharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, ſenſible that from ſuch men he could expect neither enterpriſe in action nor fortitude in ſuffering, and perſuaded that wherever they went the diſplay of their riches The effect of it.

[h] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 3.

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would allure adventurers, leſs opulent, but more hardy, to his ſtandard, granted their ſuit without reluctance, and permitted above ſixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he ſent to Spain with an account of his ſucceſs, and the preſent deſtined for the Emperor[1].

The Inca demands his liberty in vain.

THE Spaniards having divided among them the treaſure amaſſed for the Inca's ranſom, he inſiſted with them to fulfil their promiſe of ſetting him at liberty. But nothing was farther from Pizarro's thoughts. During his long ſervice in the New World, he had imbibed thoſe ideas and maxims of his fellow-ſoldiers, which led them to conſider its inhabitants as an inferior race, neither worthy of the name, nor intitled to the rights, of men. In his compact with Atahualpa, he had no other object than to amuſe his captive with ſuch a proſpect of recovering his liberty, as might induce him to lend all the aid of his authority towards collecting the wealth of his kingdom. Having now accompliſhed this, he no longer regarded his plighted faith; and at the very time when the credulous Prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had ſecretly reſolved to bereave him of life. Many circumſtances ſeem to have concurred in prompting him to this action,

[1] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 2. lib. 1. c. 38.

the

the moſt criminal and atrocious that ſtains the Spaniſh name, amidſt all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conqueſt of the New World. BOOK VI. 1533.

He and the Spaniards mutually jealous.

THOUGH Pizarro had ſeized the Inca, in imitation of Cortes's conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he did not poſſeſs talents for carrying on the ſame artful plan of policy. Deſtitute of the temper and addreſs requiſite for gaining the confidence of his priſoner, he never reaped all the advantages which might have been derived from being maſter of his perſon and authority. Atahualpa was, indeed, a prince of greater abilities and diſcernment than Montezuma, and ſeems to have penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual ſuſpicion and diſtruſt accordingly took place between them. The ſtrict attention with which it was neceſſary to guard a captive of ſuch importance, greatly increaſed the fatigue of military duty. The utility of keeping him appeared inconſiderable; and Pizarro felt him as an incumbrance, from which he wiſhed to be delivered[k].

Almagro and his followers demand his life.

ALMAGRO and his followers had made a demand of an equal ſhare in the Inca's ranſom;

[k] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

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and though Pizarro had beſtowed upon the private men the large gratuity which I have mentioned, and endeavoured to ſooth their leader by preſents of great value, they ſtill continued diſſatisfied. They were apprehenſive, that as long as Atahualpa remained a priſoner, Pizarro's ſoldiers would apply whatever treaſure ſhould be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the quantity ſtipulated for his ranſom, and under that pretext exclude them from any part of it. They inſiſted eagerly on putting the Inca to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thereafter be on an equal footing[1].

Motives which induced Pizarro to conſent.

PIZARRO himſelf began to be alarmed with accounts of forces aſſembling in the remote provinces of the empire, and ſuſpected Atahualpa of having iſſued orders for that purpoſe. Theſe fears and ſuſpicions were artfully increaſed by Philippillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro had carried off from Tumbez in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourſe with the captive monarch, he preſumed, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of

[1] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Vega, p. 2. lib. i. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

his

his birth, to raiſe his affections to a *Coya*, or deſcendant of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and ſeeing no proſpect of gratifying that paſſion during the life of the monarch, he endeavoured to fill the ears of the Spaniards with ſuch accounts of the Inca's ſecret deſigns and preparations, as might awaken their jealouſy, and incite them to cut him off. BOOK VI. 1533.

While Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Philippillo laboured to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to haſten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached himſelf with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were perſons of birth and education ſuperior to the rough adventurers with whom they ſerved, were accuſtomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this reſpect from perſons of ſuch high rank, he delighted in their ſociety. But in the preſence of the governor he was always uneaſy and overawed. This dread ſoon came to be mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, what he admired moſt was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he

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he desired one of the soldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he shewed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all, without hesitation, returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment, Atahualpa considered him as a mean person, less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death[m].

His trial.

But in order to give some colour of justice to this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the Inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was

[m] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 38.

named

named to carry on the profecution in the King's name; counſellors were choſen to aſſiſt the priſoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this ſtrange tribunal, a charge was exhibited ſtill more amazing. It conſiſted of various articles; that Atahualpa, though a baſtard, had diſpoſſeſſed the rightful owner of the throne, and uſurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful ſovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human ſacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that ſince his impriſonment he had waſted and embezzled the royal treaſures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his ſubjects to take arms againſt the Spaniards. On theſe heads of accuſation, ſome of which are ſo ludicrous, others ſo abſurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a ſerious procedure, is not leſs ſurpriſing than his injuſtice, did this ſtrange court go on to try the ſovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no juriſdiction. With reſpect to each of the articles, witneſſes were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philippillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn beſt ſuited his male-

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malevolent intentions. To judges predetermined in their opinion, this evidence appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde proſtituted the authority of his ſacred function to confirm this ſentence, and by his ſignature warranted it to be juſt. Aſtoniſhed at his fate, Atahualpa endeavoured to avert it by tears, by promiſes, and by entreaties, that he might be ſent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to be led inſtantly to execution; and, what added to the bitterneſs of his laſt moments, the ſame monk who had juſt ratified his doom, offered to conſole, and attempted to convert him. The moſt powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Chriſtian faith, was a promiſe of mitigation in his puniſhment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a deſire of receiving baptiſm. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, inſtead of being burnt, was ſtrangled at the ſtake [n].

1533. He is condemned,

and executed.

[n] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Xerez, p. 233. Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 36, 37. Gomara Hiſt. c. 117. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iii. c. 4.

HAPPILY

1533. Several Spaniards proteſt againſt it.

HAPPILY for the credit of the Spaniſh nation, even among the profligate adventurers which it ſent forth to conquer and deſolate the New World, there were perſons who retained ſome tincture of the Caſtilian generoſity and honour. Though, before the trial of Atahualpa, Ferdinand Pizarro had ſet out for Spain, and Soto was ſent on a ſeparate command at a diſtance from Caxamalca, this odious tranſaction was not carried on without cenſure and oppoſition. Several officers, and among thoſe ſome of the greateſt reputation and moſt reſpectable families in the ſervice, not only remonſtrated, but proteſted againſt this meaſure of their general, as diſgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and an uſurpation of juriſdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their laudable endeavours were vain. Numbers, and the opinion of ſuch as held every thing to be lawful which they deemed advantageous, prevailed. Hiſtory, however, records even the unſucceſsful exertions of virtue with applauſe; and the Spaniſh writers, in relating events where the valour of their nation is more conſpicuous than its humanity, have not failed to preſerve the names of thoſe who made this laudable effort to ſave their country

BOOK VI.

country from the infamy of having perpetrated such a crime [o].

1533.

Diſſolution of government and order in Peru.

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro inveſted one of his ſons with the enſigns of royalty, hoping that a young man without experience might prove a more paſſive inſtrument in his hands, than an ambitious monarch, who had been accuſtomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country, acknowledged Manco Capac, a brother of Huaſcar, as Inca [p]. But neither poſſeſſed the authority which belonged to a ſovereign of Peru. The violent convulſions into which the empire had been thrown, firſt by the civil war between the two brothers, and then by the invaſion of the Spaniards, had not only deranged the order of the Peruvian government, but almoſt diſſolved its frame. When they beheld their monarch a captive in the power of ſtrangers, and at laſt ſuffering an ignominious death, the people in ſeveral provinces, as if they had been ſet free from every reſtraint of law and decency, broke out into the moſt licentious exceſſes [q]. So

[o] Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 37. Xerez, i. 235. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 5.

[p] Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 7.

[q] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 12. lib. iii. c. 5.

many

many deſcendants of the Sun, after being treated with the utmoſt indignity, had been cut off by Atahualpa, that not only their influence in the ſtate diminiſhed with their number, but the accuſtomed reverence for that ſacred race ſenſibly decreaſed. In conſequence of this ſtate of things, ambitious men in different parts of the empire aſpired to independent authority, and uſurped juriſdiction to which they had no title. The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quito, ſeized the brother and children of his maſter, put them to a cruel death, and diſclaiming any connection with either Inca, endeavoured to eſtabliſh a ſeparate kingdom for himſelf[r]. BOOK VI. 1533.

THE Spaniards, with pleaſure, beheld the ſpirit of diſcord diffuſing itſelf, and the vigour of government relaxing among the Peruvians. They conſidered thoſe diſorders as ſymptoms of a ſtate haſtening towards its diſſolution. Pizarro no longer heſitated to advance towards Cuzco, and he had received ſuch conſiderable reinforcements, that he could venture, with little danger, to penetrate ſo far into the interior part of the country. The account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca operated as he had foreſeen. No ſooner did his brother Pizarro advances to Cuzco.

[r] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 3, 4.

BOOK VI. 1533. Ferdinand, with the officers and ſoldiers to whom he had given their diſcharge after the partition of the Inca's ranſom, arrive at Panama, and diſplay their riches in the view of their aſtoniſhed countrymen, than fame ſpread the account with ſuch exaggeration through all the Spaniſh ſettlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatimala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly reſtrain the people under their juriſdiction, from abandoning their poſſeſſions, and crowding to that inexhauſtible ſource of wealth which ſeemed to be opened in Peru [s]. In ſpite of every check and regulation, ſuch numbers reſorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a conſiderable garriſon in St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had aſſembled ſome large bodies of troops to oppoſe his progreſs. Several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated like all the actions in America; a few Spaniards were killed or wounded; the natives were put to flight with incredible ſlaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet poſſeſſion of that capital. The riches found there, even after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a

[s] Gomara Hiſt. c. 125. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 5.

finer-

ſuperſtitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred to their rapacious conquerors, exceed in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ranſom. But as the Spaniards were now accuſtomed to the wealth of the country, and it came to be parcelled out among a great number of adventurers, this dividend did not excite the ſame ſurpriſe, either from novelty, or the largeneſs of the ſum that fell to the ſhare of each individual [t].

During the march to Cuzco, that ſon of Atahualpa whom Pizarro treated as Inca, died; and as the Spaniards ſubſtituted no perſon in his place, the title of Manco Capac ſeems to have been univerſally recognized [u].

Quito conquered by Benalcazar.

While his fellow-ſoldiers were thus employed, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, an able and enterpriſing officer, was aſhamed of remaining inactive, and impatient to have his name diſtinguiſhed among the diſcoverers and conquerors of the New World. The ſeaſonable arrival of a freſh body of recruits from Panama and Nicaragua, put it in his power to gratify this paſſion. Leaving a ſufficient force to protect the infant ſettlement entruſted to

[t] See NOTE XVIII. [u] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. v. c. 2.

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his care, he placed himſelf at the head of the reſt, and ſet out to attempt the reduction of Quito, where, according to the report of the natives, Atahualpa had left the greateſt part of his treaſure. Notwithſtanding the diſtance of that city from St. Michael, the difficulty of marching through a mountainous country covered with woods, and the frequent and fierce attacks of the beſt troops in Peru, commanded by a ſkilful leader, the valour, good conduct, and perſeverance of Benalcazar ſurmounted every obſtacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But they met with a cruel mortification there. The natives, now acquainted to their ſorrow with the predominant paſſion of their invaders, and knowing how to diſappoint it, had carried of all thoſe treaſures, the proſpect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition, and had ſupported them under all the dangers and hardſhips wherewith they had to ſtruggle in carrying it on[w].

Alvarado's expedition.

BENALCAZAR was not the only Spaniſh leader who attacked the kingdom of Quito. The fame of its riches attracted a more powerful enemy. Pedro de Alvarado, who had diſ-

[w] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 9. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 11, 12. lib. v. c. 2, 3. lib. vi. c. 3.

tinguiſhed

tinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently in the conqueſt of Mexico, having obtained the government of Guatimala as a recompence for his valour, ſoon became diſguſted with a life of uniform tranquillity, and longed to be again engaged in the buſtle of military ſervice. The glory and wealth acquired by the conquerors of Peru heightened this paſſion, and gave it a determined direction. Believing, or pretending to believe, that the kingdom of Quito did not lie within the limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, he reſolved to invade it. The high reputation of the commander allured volunteers from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom above two hundred were of ſuch diſtinction as to ſerve on horſeback. He landed at Puerto Viejo, and without ſufficient knowledge of the country, or proper guides to conduct him, attempted to march directly to Quito, by following the courſe of the river Guayquil, and croſſing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this route, one of the moſt impracticable in all America, his troops endured ſuch fatigue in forcing their way through foreſts and marſhes on the low grounds, and ſuffered ſo much from exceſſive cold when they began to aſcend the mountains, that before they reached the plain of Quito, a fifth part of the men and

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BOOK VI. half their horſes died, and the reſt were ſo much diſpirited and worn out, as to be almoſt unfit for ſervice [x]. There they met with a body, not of Indians but of Spaniards, drawn in hoſtile array againſt them. Pizarro having received an account of Alvarado's armament, had detached Almagro with ſome troops to oppoſe this formidable invader of his juriſdiction; and theſe were joined by Benalcazar and his victorious party. Alvarado, though ſurpriſed at the ſight of enemies whom he did not expect, advanced boldly to the charge. But, by the interpoſition of ſome moderate men in each party, an amicable accommodation took place; and the fatal period, when Spaniards ſuſpended their conqueſts to embrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, was poſtponed a few years. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon Almagro's paying him a hundred thouſand peſos to defray the expence of his armament. Moſt of his followers remained in the country; and an expedition, which threatened Pizarro and his colony with ruin, contributed to augment its ſtrength [y].

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[x] See NOTE XIX.

[y] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 10—13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 1, 2. 9, &c. Gomara Hiſt. c. 126, &c. Remeſal Hiſt. Guatimal. lib. iii. c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 1. 2. 7, 8.

By

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By this time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver which he imported[z], filled the kingdom with no leſs aſtoniſhment than they had excited in Panama and the adjacent provinces. Pizarro was received by the Emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a preſent ſo rich, as to exceed any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquiſitions in America, even after they had been ten years maſters of Mexico. In recompence of his brother's ſervices, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of ſeventy leagues, extending along the coaſt, to the ſouthward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro received the honours which he had ſo long deſired. The title of adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with juriſdiction over two hundred leagues of country, ſtretching beyond the ſouthern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand himſelf did not go unrewarded. He was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a diſtinction always acceptable to a Spaniſh gentleman, and ſoon ſet out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many perſons of higher rank than had yet ſerved in that country[a].

1534. Honours conferred on Pizarro and Almagro.

[z] See NOTE XX.

[a] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

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1534. Beginning of diſſentions between Pizarro and Almagro.

SOME account of his negociations reached Peru before he arrived there himſelf. Almagro no ſooner learned that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, than, pretending that Cuzco, the imperial reſidence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, he attempted to render himſelf maſter of that important ſtation. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro prepared to oppoſe him. Each of the contending parties was ſupported by powerful adherents, and the diſpute was on the point of being terminated by the ſword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. The reconciliation between him and Almagro had never been cordial. The treachery of Pizarro in engroſſing to himſelf all the honours and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his aſſociate, was always preſent in both their thoughts. The former, conſcious of his own perfidy, did not expect forgiveneſs; the latter, feeling that he had been deceived, was impatient to be avenged; and though avarice and ambition had induced them not only to diſſemble their ſentiments, but even to act in concert while in purſuit of wealth and power, no ſooner did they obtain poſſeſſion of theſe, than the ſame paſſions which had formed this temporary union, gave riſe to jealouſy and diſcord. To each of them was attached a ſmall band of intereſted dependents, who, with the malicious art

art peculiar to ſuch men, heightened their ſuſ- BOOK
picions, and magnified every appearance of VI.
offence. But with all thoſe ſeeds of enmity in 1534.
their minds, and thus aſſiduouſly cheriſhed, each was ſo thoroughly acquainted with the abilities and courage of his rival, that they equally dreaded the conſequences of an open rupture. The fortunate arrival of Pizarro at Cuzco, and the addreſs mingled with firmneſs which he manifeſted in his expoſtulations with Almagro and his partizans, averted that evil for the preſent. A new reconciliation took place; the chief article of which was, that Almagro ſhould attempt the conqueſt of Chili; and if he did not find in that province an eſtabliſhment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro, by way of indemnification, ſhould yield up to him a part of Peru. This June 12.
new agreement, though confirmed with the ſame ſacred ſolemnities as their firſt contract, was obſerved with as little fidelity[b].

Regulations of Pizarro.

Soon after he concluded this important tranſaction, Pizarro marched back to the countries on the ſea-coaſt, and as he now enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, undiſturbed by any enemy, either Spaniſh or Indian, he applied himſelf with that perſevering ardour, which diſtinguiſhes his

[b] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. Benzo, lib. iii. c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vii. c. 8.

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character, to introduce a form of regular government into the extenſive provinces ſubject to his authority. Though ill qualified by his education to enter into any diſquiſition concerning the principles of civil policy, and little accuſtomed by his former habits of life to attend to its arrangements, his natural ſagacity ſupplied the want both of ſcience and experience. He diſtributed the country into various diſtricts; he appointed proper magiſtrates to preſide in each; and eſtabliſhed regulations concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians, extremely ſimple, but well calculated to promote the public proſperity. But, though, for the preſent, he adapted his plan to the infant ſtate of his colony, his aſpiring mind looked forward to its future grandeur. He conſidered himſelf as laying the foundation of a great empire, and deliberated long, and with much ſolicitude, in what place he ſhould fix the ſeat of government. Cuzco, the imperial city of the Incas, was ſituated in a corner of the empire, above four hundred miles from the ſea, and much farther from Quito, a province of whoſe value he had formed an high idea. No other ſettlement of the Peruvians was ſo conſiderable as to merit the name of a town, or to allure the Spaniards to fix their reſidence in it. But

Foundation of Lima.

in

in marching through the country, Pizarro had been ſtruck with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the moſt extenſive and beſt cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a ſmall river, of the ſame name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the diſtance of ſix miles from Callao, the moſt commodious harbour in the Pacific ocean, he founded a city which he deſtined to be the capital of his government. He gave it the name of Ciudad de los Reyes, either from the circumſtance of having laid the firſt ſtone, at that ſeaſon when the church celebrates the feſtival of the Three Kings, or, as is more probable, in honour of Juana and Charles, the joint ſovereigns of Caſtile. This name it ſtill retains among the Spaniards, in all legal and formal deeds; but it is better known to foreigners by that of *Lima*, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley in which it is ſituated. Under his inſpection, the buildings advanced with ſuch rapidity, that it ſoon aſſumed the form of a city, which, by a magnificent palace that he erected for himſelf, and by the ſtately houſes built by ſeveral of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, ſome indication of its ſubſequent grandeur[c].

BOOK VI. 1534. 1535. January 18.

[c] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 12. lib. vii. c. 13. Calancho Coronica, lib. i. c. 37. Barneuvo, Lima fundata, ii. 294.

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1535. Almagro invades Chili.

In conſequence of what had been agreed with Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili; and as he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the virtues moſt admired by ſoldiers, boundleſs liberality and fearleſs courage, his ſtandard was followed by five hundred and ſeventy men, the greateſt body of Europeans that had hitherto been aſſembled in Peru. From impatience to finiſh the expedition, or from that contempt of hardſhip and danger acquired by all the Spaniards who had ſerved long in America, Almagro, inſtead of advancing along the level country on the coaſt, choſe to march acroſs the mountains by a route that was ſhorter indeed, but almoſt impracticable. In this attempt his troops were expoſed to every calamity which men can ſuffer, from fatigue, from famine, and from the rigour of the climate in thoſe elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the degree of cold is hardly inferior to what is felt within the polar circle. Many of them periſhed; and the ſurvivors, when they deſcended into the fertile plains of Chili, had new difficulties to encounter. They found there a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent, and in their bodily conſtitution, as well as vigour of ſpirit, nearly reſembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the firſt appearance of the Spaniards, and ſtill more

more aſtoniſhed at the operations of their cavalry and the effects of their fire-arms, the Chileſe ſoon recovered ſo far from their ſurprize, as not only to defend themſelves with obſtinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceneſs than any American nation had hitherto diſcovered. The Spaniards, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected ſome conſiderable quantities of gold; but were ſo far from thinking of making any ſettlement amidſt ſuch formidable neighbours, that in ſpite of all the experience and valour of their leader, the final iſſue of the expedition ſtill remained extremely dubious, when they were recalled from it by an unexpected revolution in Peru[d]. The cauſes of this important event I ſhall endeavour to trace to their ſource.

BOOK VI. 1535.

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru from every Spaniſh colony in America, and all with ſuch high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at once, that, to men poſſeſſed with notions ſo extravagant, any mention of acquiring wealth gradually, and by ſchemes of patient induſtry, would have been not only a diſappointment, but an inſult. In order to

An inſurrection of the Peruvians.

[d] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 1. Gomara Hiſt. c. 131. Vega, p. 2. lib. ii. c. 20. Ovalle Hiſt. de Chile, lib. iv. c. 15, &c. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 9. lib. x. c. 1, &c.

find

altogether vain. All perceived that a vigorous effort of the whole nation was requiſite to expel them, and the preparations for it were carried on with the ſecrecy and ſilence peculiar to Americans. BOOK VI. 1535.

and progreſs.

AFTER ſome unſucceſsful attempts of the Inca to make his eſcape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening to arrive at that time in Cuzco, he obtained permiſſion from him to attend a great feſtival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that ſolemnity, the great men of the empire were aſſembled. As ſoon as the Inca joined them, the ſtandard of war was erected; and in a ſhort time all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontier of Chili, were in arms. Many Spaniards, living ſecurely on the ſettlements allotted them, were maſſacred. Several detachments, as they marched careleſsly through a country which ſeemed to be tamely ſubmiſſive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. An army amounting (if we may believe the Spaniſh writers) to two hundred thouſand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers endeavoured to defend with only one hundred and ſeventy Spaniards. Another formidable body inveſted Lima, and kept the governor cloſely ſhut up. There was no longer any communication between the 1536.

two

BOOK VI. 1536.

two cities; the numerous forces of the Peruvians ſpreading over the country, intercepted every meſſenger; and as the parties in Cuzco and Lima were equally unacquainted with the fate of their countrymen, each boded the worſt concerning the other, and imagined that they themſelves were the only perſons who had ſurvived the general extinction of the Spaniſh name in Peru[c].

Siege of Cuzco.

It was at Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in perſon, that the Peruvians made their chief effort. During nine months they carried on the ſiege with inceſſant ardour, and in various forms; and though they diſplayed not the ſame undaunted ferocity as the Mexican warriors, they conducted ſome of their operations in a manner which diſcovered greater ſagacity, and a genius more ſuſceptible of improvement in the military art. They not only obſerved the advantages which the Spaniards derived from their diſcipline and their weapons, but they endeavoured to imitate the former, and turn the latter againſt them. They armed a conſiderable body of their braveſt warriors with the ſwords, the ſpears, and bucklers, which they had taken

[c] Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 28. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Cieca de Leon, c. 82. Gomara Hiſt. c. 135. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 5.

from the Spaniſh ſoldiers whom they had cut off in different parts of the country. Theſe they endeavoured to marſhal in that regular compact order, to which experience had taught them that the Spaniards were indebted for their irreſiſtible force in action. Some appeared in the field with Spaniſh muſkets, and had acquired ſkill and reſolution enough to uſe them. A few of the boldeſt, among whom was the Inca himſelf, were mounted on the horſes which they had taken, and advanced briſkly to the charge like Spaniſh cavaliers, with their lances in the reſt. It was more by their numbers, however, than by thoſe imperfect eſſays to imitate European arts and to employ European arms, that the Peruvians annoyed the Spaniards[f]. In ſpite of the valour, heightened by deſpair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered poſſeſſion of one half of his capital; and in their various efforts to drive him out of it, the Spaniards loſt Juan Pizarro, the beſt beloved of all the brothers, together with ſome other perſons of note. Worn out with the fatigue of inceſſant duty, diſtreſſed with want of proviſions, and deſpairing of being able any longer to reſiſt an enemy whoſe numbers daily increaſed, the ſoldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes either of joining their

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[f] See NOTE XXI.

country-

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countrymen, if any of them yet ſurvived, or of forcing their way to the ſea, and finding ſome means of eſcaping from a country which had been ſo fatal to the Spaniſh name[s]. While they were brooding over thoſe deſponding thoughts, which their officers laboured in vain to diſpel, Almagro appeared ſuddenly in the neighbourhood of Cuzco.

Arrival of Almagro, and motives of his conduct.

THE accounts tranſmitted to Almagro concerning the general inſurrection of the Peruvians, were ſuch as would have induced him, without heſitation, to relinquiſh the conqueſt of Chili, and haſten to the aid of his countrymen. But in this reſolution he was confirmed by a motive leſs generous, but more intereſting. By the ſame meſſenger who brought him intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his juriſdiction. Upon conſidering the tenor of it, he deemed it manifeſt beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his government, and he was equally ſolicitous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering poſſeſſion of their capital, and to wreſt it out of the hands of the Pizarros. From impatience to accompliſh both, he ventured to return by a new

[s] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4.

route; and in marching through the ſandy plains on the coaſt, he ſuffered, from heat and drought, calamities of a new ſpecies, hardly inferior to thoſe in which he had been involved by cold and famine on the ſummits of the Andes. BOOK VI. 1536.

His arrival at Cuzco was in a critical moment. The Spaniards and Peruvians fixed their eyes upon him with equal ſolicitude. The former, as he did not ſtudy to conceal his pretenſions, were at a loſs whether to welcome him as a deliverer, or to take precautions againſt him as an enemy. The latter, knowing the points in conteſt between him and his countrymen, flattered themſelves that they had more to hope than to dread from his operations. Almagro himſelf, unacquainted with the detail of the events which had happened in his abſence, and ſolicitous to learn the preciſe poſture of affairs, advanced towards the capital ſlowly, and with great circumſpection. Various negociations with both parties were ſet on foot. The Inca conducted them on his part with much addreſs. At firſt he endeavoured to gain the friendſhip of Almagro; and after many fruitleſs overtures, deſpairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by ſurpriſe with a numerous body of choſen troops. But the Spaniſh diſcipline and valour maintained their 1537. His operations.

BOOK VI.

1537. wonted ſuperiority. The Peruvians were repulſed with ſuch ſlaughter, that a great part of their army diſperſed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without interruption.

Takes poſſeſſion of Cuzco.

THE Pizarros, as they had no longer to make head againſt the Peruvians, directed all their attention towards their new enemy, and took meaſures to obſtruct his entry into the capital. Prudence, however, reſtrained both parties for ſome time from turning their arms againſt one another, while ſurrounded by common enemies, who would rejoice in the mutual ſlaughter. Different ſchemes of accommodation were propoſed. Each endeavoured to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers. The generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained many adherents of the Pizarros, who were diſguſted with their harſh domineering manners. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, ſurpriſed the centinels, or was admitted by them, and inveſting the houſe where the two brothers reſided, compelled them, after an obſtinate defence, to ſurrender at diſcretion. Almagro's claim of juriſdiction over Cuzco was univerſally acknowledged, and a form of adminiſtration eſtabliſhed in his name [h].

[h] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 29. 31. Gomara Hiſt. c. 134. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 1—5.

Two

BOOK VI.

Two or three perſons only were killed in this firſt act of civil hoſtility; but it was ſoon followed by ſcenes more bloody. Francis Pizarro having diſperſed the Peruvians who had inveſted Lima, and received ſome conſiderable reinforcements from Hiſpaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonſo de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garriſon were not already cut off by the Peruvians. This body, which at that period of the Spaniſh power in America, muſt be deemed a conſiderable force, advanced near to the capital before they knew that they had any enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. It was with aſtoniſhment that they beheld their countrymen poſted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppoſe their progreſs. Almagro, however, wiſhed rather to gain than to conquer them, and by bribes and promiſes endeavoured to ſeduce their leader. The fidelity of Alvarado remained unſhaken; but his talents for war were not equal to his virtue. Almagro amuſed him with various movements, of which he did not comprehend the meaning, while a large detachment of choſen ſoldiers paſſed the river by night, fell upon his camp by ſurpriſe, broke his troops before they had time to form, and took

1537. Civil war and firſt ſucceſs of Almagro.

July 12.

BOOK VI. 1537.

him priſoner, together with his principal officers[i].

but does not improve his advantages.

By the ſudden rout of this body, the conteſt between the two rivals muſt have been decided, if Almagro had known as well how to improve as how to gain a victory. Rodrigo Orgognez, an officer of great abilities, who having ſerved under the conſtable Bourbon, when he led the Imperial army to Rome, had been accuſtomed to bold and deciſive meaſures, adviſed him inſtantly to iſſue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarros, Alvarado, and a few other perſons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious troops to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, though he diſcerned at once the utility of the counſel, and though he had courage to have carried it into execution, ſuffered himſelf to be influenced by ſentiments unlike thoſe of a ſoldier of fortune grown old in ſervice, and by ſcruples which ſuited not the chief of a party who had drawn his ſword in civil war. Feelings of humanity reſtrained him

[i] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 6. Gom. Hiſt. c. 138. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 32. 34. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 9.

from

from ſhedding the blood of his opponents; and the dread of being deemed a rebel, deterred him from entering a province which the King had allotted to another. Though he knew that arms muſt terminate the diſpute between him and Pizarro, and reſolved not to ſhun that mode of deciſion, yet, with a timid delicacy prepoſterous at ſuch a juncture, he was ſo ſolicitous that his rival ſhould be conſidered as the aggreſſor, that he marched quietly back to Cuzco, to wait his approach[k]. BOOK VI. 1537.

Pizarro was ſtill unacquainted with all the intereſting events which had happened near Cuzco. Accounts of Almagro's return, of the loſs of the capital, of the death of one brother, of the impriſonment of the other two, and of the defeat of Alvarado, were brought to him at once. Such a tide of misfortunes almoſt overwhelmed a ſpirit which had continued firm and erect under the rudeſt ſhocks of adverſity. But the neceſſity of attending to his own ſafety, as well as the deſire of revenge, preſerved him from ſinking under it. He took meaſures for both with his wonted ſagacity. As he had the command of the ſea-coaſt, and expected conſiderable ſupplies both of men and military ſtores, it was no leſs his Diſtreſs of Pizarro. His artful conduct.

[k] Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 10, 11.

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intereſt to gain time, and to avoid action, than it was that of Almagro to precipitate operations, and bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy iſſue. He had recourſe to arts which he had formerly practiſed with ſucceſs; and Almagro was again weak enough to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed with a proſpect of terminating their differences by ſome amicable accommodation. By varying his overtures, and ſhifting his ground as often as it ſuited his purpoſe, ſometimes ſeeming to yield to every thing which his rival could deſire, and then retracting all that he had granted, Pizarro dexterouſly protracted the negociation to ſuch a length, that though every day was precious to Almagro, ſeveral months elapſed without coming to any final agreement. While the attention of Almagro, and of the officers with whom he conſulted, was occupied in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the ſoldiers to whoſe cuſtody they were committed, and not only made their eſcape themſelves, but perſuaded ſixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany their flight[1]. Fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the governor ſcrupled not at one act of perfidy more to pro-

[1] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 14.

cure the releaſe of the other. He propoſed, that every point in controverſy between Almagro and himſelf ſhould be ſubmitted to the deciſion of their ſovereign; that until his award was known, each ſhould retain undiſturbed poſſeſſion of whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro ſhould be ſet at liberty, and return inſtantly to Spain, together with the officers, whom Almagro purpoſed to ſend thither to repreſent the juſtice of his claims. Obvious as the deſign of Pizarro was in thoſe propoſitions, and familiar as his artifices might now have been to his opponent, Almagro, with a credulity approaching to infatuation, relied on his ſincerity, and concluded an agreement on theſe terms [m]. 1537.

His preparations for war.

THE moment that Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, the governor, no longer fettered in his operations by anxiety about his brother's life, threw off every diſguiſe which his concern for it had obliged him to aſſume. The treaty was forgotten; pacific and conciliating meaſures were no more mentioned; it was in the field he openly declared, and not in the cabinet; by arms, and not by negociation; that it muſt now be determined who ſhould be maſter of Peru. The rapidity of

[m] Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 9. Gomara Hiſt. c. 140. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 35.

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his preparations ſuited ſuch a deciſive reſolution. Seven hundred men were ſoon ready to march towards Cuzco. The command of theſe was given to his two brothers, in whom he could perfectly confide for the execution of his moſt violent ſchemes, as they were urged on, not only by the enmity flowing from the rivalſhip between their family and Almagro, but animated with the deſire of vengeance, excited by recollection of their own recent diſgrace and ſufferings. After an unſucceſsful attempt to croſs the mountains in the direct road between Lima and Cuzco, they marched towards the ſouth along the coaſt as far as Naſca, and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital. Almagro, inſtead of hearkening to ſome of his officers, who adviſed him to attempt the defence of thoſe difficult paſſes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. Two reaſons ſeem to have induced him to take this reſolution. His followers amounted hardly to five hundred, and he was afraid of weakening ſuch a feeble body by ſending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded that of the adverſe party, both in number and diſcipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himſelf of that advantage.

THE

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THE Pizarros advanced without any obſtruction, but what aroſe from the nature of the deſert and horrid regions through which they marched. As ſoon as they reached the plain, both factions were equally impatient to bring this long protracted conteſt to an iſſue. Though countrymen and friends, the ſubjects of the ſame ſovereign, and each with the royal ſtandard diſplayed; and though they beheld the mountains that ſurrounded the plain in which they were drawn up, covered with a vaſt multitude of Indians, aſſembled to enjoy the ſpectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party remained maſter of the field; ſo fell and implacable was the rancour which had taken poſſeſſion of every breaſt, that not one pacific counſel, not a ſingle overture towards accommodation proceeded from either ſide. Unfortunately for Almagro, he was ſo worn out with the fatigues of ſervice, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this criſis of his fate, he could not exert his wonted activity; and he was obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not poſſeſs the ſame aſcendant either over the ſpirit or affections of the ſoldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accuſtomed to follow and revere.

1538. His army marches to Cuzco.

THE

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1538. April 26. Almagro defeated,

THE conflict was fierce and maintained by each party with equal courage. On the ſide of Almagro, were more veteran ſoldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but theſe were counterbalanced by Pizarro's ſuperiority in numbers, and by two companies of well diſciplined muſketeers, which, on receiving an account of the inſurrection of the Indians, the Emperor had ſent from Spain[n]. As the uſe of fire-arms was not frequent among the adventurers in America[o], haſtily equipped for ſervice, at their own expence, this ſmall band of ſoldiers, regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well-ſuſtained fire bore down horſe and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavoured to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the route became general. The barbarity of the conquerors ſtained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on ſome to ſlaughter their countrymen with indiſcriminate cruelty; the meanneſs of private revenge inſtigated others to ſingle out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and ſeveral officers of

[n] Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 8.
[o] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8.

diſtinc-

diſtinction were maſſacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty ſoldiers fell in the field; a large proportion, where the number of combatants were few, and the heat of the conteſt ſoon over. Almagro, though ſo feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horſe, had inſiſted in being carried in a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmoſt agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at laſt beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the paſſionate indignation of a veteran leader long accuſtomed to victory. He endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight, but was taken priſoner, and guarded with the ſtricteſt vigilance[q]. BOOK VI. 1538. and taken.

THE Indians, inſtead of executing the reſolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the hiſtory of the New World, there is not a more ſtriking inſtance of the wonderful aſcendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that after ſeeing one of the contending parties ruined and diſperſed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune pre-

[q] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11, 12. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 36—38. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 10—12. lib. iv. c. 1—6.

ſented

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ſented an opportunity of attacking them with ſuch advantage[q].

New expeditions.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a conſiderable booty, conſiſting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treaſures, and partly of the wealth amaſſed by their antagoniſts from the ſpoils of Peru and Chili. But ſo far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompence which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify ſuch extravagant expectations, had recourſe to the ſame expedient which his brother had employed on a ſimilar occaſion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent aſſuming ſpirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his moſt active officers to attempt the diſcovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto ſubmitted to the Spaniards. To every ſtandard erected by the leaders who undertook any of thoſe new expeditions, volunteers reſorted with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's ſoldiers joined them, and thus Pizarro had the

[q] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. 2. c. 38.

satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies[r]. BOOK VI. 1538.

ALMAGRO himself remained for several months in custody, under all the anguish of suspence. For although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence constrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the soldiers who had served under him, as well as several of their own followers in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuzco. As soon as they set out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason, formally tried, and condemned to die. The sentence astonished him; and though he had often braved death with undaunted spirit in the field, its approach under this ignominious form appalled him so much, that he had recourse to abject supplications, unworthy of his former fame. He besought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the prosperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in opposition to the repeated remonstrances of Almagro tried, condemned,

[r] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gomara Hist. c. 141. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 7.

his

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his own moſt attached friends, he had ſpared their lives when he had them in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to ſuffer him to paſs the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with Heaven. The entreaties, ſays a Spaniſh hiſtorian, of a man ſo much beloved, touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a ſtern eye. But the brothers remained inflexible. As ſoon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was ſtrangled in priſon and afterwards publicly beheaded. He ſuffered in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and left one ſon by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a priſoner in Lima, he named as ſucceſſor to his government, purſuant to a power which the Emperor had granted him[s].

and put to death.

1539. Deliberations of the court of Spain concerning the ſtate of Peru.

As, during the civil diſſentions in Peru, all intercourſe with Spain was ſuſpended, the detail of the extraordinary tranſactions there did not ſoon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the firſt intelligence was brought thither by ſome of Almagro's

[s] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gomara Hiſt. c. 141. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 39. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 9. lib. v. c. 1.

officers,

officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cauſe; and they related what had happened, with every circumſtance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the moſt ſolemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived ſoon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary ſplendor, endeavoured to efface the impreſſion which their accuſations had made, and to juſtify his brother and himſelf by repreſenting Almagro as the aggreſſor. The Emperor and his miniſters, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was moſt criminal, clearly diſcerned the fatal tendency of their diſſentions. It was obvious, that while the leaders, entruſted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which ſhould have been turned againſt the common enemy, in deſtroying one another, all attention to the public good muſt ceaſe, and there was reaſon to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the diſunion of the Spaniards preſented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquiſhed. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was ſo defective and ſuſpicious, and the ſcene of action ſo remote, it

BOOK VI. 1539.

BOOK VI. 1539. it was almoſt impoſſible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed, and before any plan that ſhould be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the ſituation of the parties, and the circumſtances of affairs, might alter ſo entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Vaca de Caſtro ſent thither with ample powers.

NOTHING therefore remained but to ſend a perſon to Peru, veſted with extenſive and diſcretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the poſture of affairs with his own eyes, and enquiring upon the ſpot into the conduct of the different leaders, ſhould be authoriſed to eſtabliſh the government in that form which he deemed moſt conducive to the intereſt of the parent ſtate, and the welfare of the colony. The man ſelected for this important charge was Chriſtoval Vaca de Caſtro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmneſs, juſtified the choice. His inſtructions, though ample, were not ſuch as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aſpect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor ſtill alive, he was to aſſume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard againſt giving any juſt cauſe of offence to a man who had merited ſo highly of his country. But

if

if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison, where he remained above twenty years [t].

1539.

1540. Pizarro divides Peru among his followers.

While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow, was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country

[t] Gomara, Hist. c. 142. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 40. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 10, 11. lib. x. c. 1.

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moſt cultivated and populous, were ſet apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents and favourites. To others, lots leſs valuable and inviting were aſſigned. The followers of Almagro, amongſt whom were many of the original adventurers to whoſe valour and perſeverance Pizarro was indebted for his ſucceſs, were totally excluded from any portion in thoſe lands, towards the acquiſition of which they had contributed ſo largely. As the vanity of every individual ſet an immoderate value upon his own ſervices, and the idea of each concerning the recompence due to them roſe gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conqueſts extended, all who were diſappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly againſt the rapaciouſneſs and partiality of the governor. The partiſans of Almagro murmured in ſecret, and meditated revenge [u].

Progreſs of the Spaniſh arms.

RAPID as the progreſs of the Spaniards in South America had been ſince Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet ſatisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into ſeveral new provinces,

[u] Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 2. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 5.

and

and though ſome of them were expoſed to great hardſhips in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others ſuffered diſtreſs not inferior amidſt the woods and marſhes of the plains, they made diſcoveries and conqueſts which not only extended their knowledge of of the country, but added conſiderably to the territories of Spain in the New World. Pedro de Valdivia re-aſſumed Almagro's ſcheme of invading Chili, and notwithſtanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their poſſeſſions, made ſuch progreſs in the conqueſt of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the eſtabliſhment of the Spaniſh dominion in that province[w]. But of all the enterpriſes undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the moſt remarkable. The governor, who ſeems to have reſolved that no perſon in Peru ſhould poſſeſs any ſtation of diſtinguiſhed eminence or authority but thoſe of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He inſtructed him to attempt the diſcovery and conqueſt of the country to the eaſt of the Andes, which, according to the information

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Remarkable expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro.

[w] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 13. Ovalle, lib. ii. c. 1, &c.

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of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable ſpices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no leſs ambitious of acquiring diſtinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult ſervice. He ſet out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty ſoldiers, near one half of whom were horſemen; with four thouſand Indians to carry their proviſions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, exceſs of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accuſtomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants.

Hardſhips they endure.

The Spaniards, though more robuſt, and inured to a variety of climates, ſuffered conſiderably, and loſt ſome men; but when they deſcended into the low country their diſtreſs increaſed. During two months it rained inceſſantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes[x]. The immenſe plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudeſt and leaſt induſtrious tribes in the New World, yielded little ſubſiſtence. They could not advance a ſtep but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marſhes. Such inceſſant toil, and continual ſcarcity of food, ſeem more than ſufficient to have exhauſted

[x] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2.

and

and diſpirited any troops. But the fortitude and perſeverance of the Spaniards in the ſixteenth century were inſuperable. Allured by frequent but falſe accounts of rich countries before them, they perſiſted in ſtruggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whoſe waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, in conveying them over rivers, in procuring proviſions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty ſoldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The ſtream carried them down with ſuch rapidity, that they were ſoon far a-head of their countrymen, who followed ſlowly and with difficulty by land. 1540.

Deſerted by Orellana.

At this diſtance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aſpiring mind, began to fancy himſelf independent, and tranſported with the predominant paſſion of the age, he formed the ſcheme of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a diſcoverer, by following the courſe of the Maragnon, until it joined the ocean, and by ſurveying the vaſt regions through which it flows. This ſcheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable

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with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-ſoldiers in a pathleſs deſert, where they had hardly any hopes of ſucceſs, or even of ſafety, but what were founded on the ſervice which they expected from the bark; his crime is, in ſome meaſure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thouſand leagues, through unknown nations, in a veſſel haſtily conſtructed, with green timber, and by very unſkilful hands, without proviſions, without a compaſs, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity ſupplied every defect. Committing himſelf fearleſsly to the guidance of the ſtream, the Napo bore him along to the ſouth, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coaſt, he held on his courſe in that direction. He made frequent deſcents on both ſides of the river, ſometimes ſeizing by force of arms the proviſions of the fierce ſavages ſeated on its banks; and ſometimes procuring a ſupply of food by a friendly intercourſe with more gentle tribes. After a long ſeries of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of diſtreſſes which he ſupported with no leſs magnanimity, he reached the ocean[y], where new perils awaited

Sails down the Maragnon.

[y] See NOTE XXII.

him.

him. Theſe he likewiſe ſurmounted, and got ſafe to the Spaniſh ſettlement in the iſland Cubagua; from thence he ſailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who viſit regions unknown to the reſt of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, ſolicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have diſcovered nations ſo rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and deſcribed a republic of women ſo warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a conſiderable tract of the fertile plains which he had viſited. Extravagant as thoſe tales were, they gave riſe to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World; and ſuch is the propenſity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been ſlowly and with difficulty that reaſon and obſervation have exploded thoſe fables. The voyage, however, even when ſtripped of every romantic embelliſhment, deſerves to be recorded not only as one of the moſt memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the firſt event which led to any certain knowledge of the

BOOK VI. 1540.

BOOK VI. extenſive countries that ſtretch eaſtward from the Andes to the ocean [z].

1540.

Diſtreſs of Pizarro.

No words can deſcribe the conſternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himſelf to ſuſpect that a man, whom he had entruſted with ſuch an important command, could be ſo baſe and ſo unfeeling, as to deſert him at ſuch a juncture. But imputing his abſence from the place of rendezvous to ſome unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to ſee the bark appear

1541. with a ſupply of proviſions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to periſh in the deſert, becauſe he had the courage to remonſtrate againſt his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own deſperate ſituation, when deprived of their only reſource. The ſpirit of the ſtouteſt hearted veteran ſunk within him, and all demanded to be led back inſtantly. Pizarro, though he aſſumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppoſe their

[z] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 4. Gomara Hiſt. c. 86. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 4. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. xi. c. 2—5. Rodriguez El Maragnon y Amazonas, lib. i. c. 3.

inclina-

inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardſhips greater than thoſe which they had endured in their progreſs outward, without the alluring hopes which then ſoothed and animated them under their ſufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horſes, to devour the moſt loathſome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their ſaddles and ſword-belts. Four thouſand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, periſhed in this wild diſaſtrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only fourſcore got back to Quito. Theſe were naked like ſavages, and ſo emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of ſpectres than of men [a]. BOOK VI. 1541.

Number of malcontents in Peru.

But, inſtead of returning to enjoy the repoſe which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than thoſe through which he had paſſed. From the time that his brother made

[a] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2—5. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 3, 4, 5. 14. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 7, 8. lib. ix. c. 2—5. dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 14. Pizar. Varones, Illuſtr. 349, &c.

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that partial diviſion of his conqueſts which had been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, conſidering themſelves as proſcribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in deſpair reſorted to Lima, where the houſe of young Almagro was always open to them, and the ſlender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was ſpent in affording them ſubſiſtence. The warm attachment with which every perſon who had ſerved under the elder Almagro devoted himſelf to his intereſts, was quickly transferred to his ſon, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and poſſeſſed all the qualities which captivate the affections of ſoldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dextrous at all martial exerciſes, bold, open, generous, he ſeemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conſcious of his own inferiority, from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him inſtructed in every ſcience becoming a gentleman; the accompliſhments which he had acquired heightened the reſpect of his followers, as they gave him diſtinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was

Conſider young Almagro as their leader.

affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own diſtreſſes. Many of them, deſtitute of common neceſſaries [b], and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to ſuch of their aſſociates as had ſaved ſome remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiſcation, longed impatiently for an occaſion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their miſery. Their frequent cabals did not paſs unobſerved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard againſt men who meditated ſome deſperate deed, and had reſolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of perſons whoſe poverty ſeemed to render their machinations of little conſequence, he diſregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," ſaid he careleſsly, "about my life; it is perfectly ſafe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought againſt it." This ſecurity gave the Almagrians full leiſure to digeſt and ripen every part of their ſcheme; and Juan de Herreda, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their

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Conſpire againſt the life of Pizarro.

[b] See NOTE XXIII.

conſultations,

BOOK VI. 1541. conſultations, with all the zeal which this connection inſpired, and with all the authority which the aſcendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday the twenty-ſixth of June, at mid-day, the ſeaſon of tranquillity and repoſe in all ſultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the moſt determined conſpirators, ſallied out of Almagro's houſe in complete armour; and drawing their ſwords, as they advanced haſtily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the King, but let the tyrant die!" Their aſſociates, warned of their motions by a ſignal, were in arms at different ſtations ready to ſupport them. Though Pizarro was uſually ſurrounded by ſuch a numerous train of attendants as ſuited the magnificence of the moſt opulent ſubject of the age in which he lived, yet as he was juſt riſen from table, and moſt of his domeſtics had retired to their own apartments, the conſpirators paſſed through the two outer courts of the palace unobſerved. They were at the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his maſter, who was converſing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whoſe ſteady mind no form of danger could appal, ſtarting up, called

called for arms, and commanded Franciſco de Chaves to make faſt the door. But that officer, who did not retain ſo much preſence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the ſtair-caſe, wildly aſked the conſpirators what they meant, and whither they were going? Inſtead of anſwering, they ſtabbed him to the heart, and burſt into the hall. Some of the perſons who were there threw themſelves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing their ſwords followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conſpirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, ruſhed forward after them. Pizarro with no other arms than his ſword and buckler, defended the entry, and ſupported by his half-brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal conteſt with intrepidity worthy of his paſt exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. "Courage," cried he, "companions, we are yet enow to make thoſe traitors repent of their audacity." But the armour of the conſpirators protected them, while every thruſt they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, ſo weary that he could hardly wield his ſword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiouſly aimed at him, received a deadly thruſt

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thruſt full in his throat, ſunk to the ground, and expired.

Almagro acknowledged as his ſucceſſor.

As ſoon as he was ſlain, the aſſaſſins ran out into the ſtreets, and waving their bloody ſwords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their aſſociates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in ſolemn proceſſion through the city, and aſſembling the magiſtrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful ſucceſſor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houſes of ſeveral of his adherents, were pillaged by the ſoldiers, who had the ſatisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of thoſe through whoſe hands all the wealth of Peru had paſſed [c].

New appearances of diſcord.

The boldneſs and ſucceſs of the conſpiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many ſoldiers to his ſtandard. Every adventurer of deſperate fortune, all who were diſſatisfied with Pizarro, and from the rapaciouſneſs of his government in the latter years of his life the number of malcontents was

[c] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 6—8. Gomara Hiſt. c. 144, 145. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 5—7. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 4—7. Pizarro Var. Illuſt. p. 183.

con-

conſiderable, declared without heſitation in favour of Almagro, and he was ſoon at the head of eight hundred of the moſt gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience diſqualified him from taking the command of them himſelf, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro ſpeedily collected ſuch a reſpectable force, the acquieſcence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous aſſaſſination of a man to whom his country was ſo highly indebted, filled every impartial perſon with horror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretenſions, led others to conſider him as an uſurper. The officers who commanded in ſome provinces refuſed to recognize his authority, until it was confirmed by the Emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal ſtandard was erected, and preparations were begun in order to revenge the murder of their ancient leader. 1541.

Arrival of Vaca de Caſtro.

Those ſeeds of diſcord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired great vigour and activity, when the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro was known. After a long and diſaſtrous voyage, he was driven by ſtreſs of weather into a ſmall harbour in the province of Popayan; and pro-

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proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no leſs tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commiſſion appointing him governor of Peru, with the ſame privileges and authority; and his juriſdiction was acknowledged without heſitation by Benalcazar, adelantado or lieutenant-general for the Emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the abſence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Caſtro not only aſſumed the ſupreme authority, but ſhewed that he poſſeſſed the talents which the exerciſe of it at that juncture required. By his influence and addreſs he ſoon aſſembled ſuch a body of troops, as not only to ſet him above all fear of being expoſed to any inſult from the adverſe party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. By diſpatching perſons of confidence to the different ſettlements in Peru, with a formal notification of his arrival and of his commiſſion, he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleaſure with reſpect to the government of the country. By private emiſſaries, he excited ſuch officers as had diſcovered their diſapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifeſt their duty to their ſovereign by ſupporting the perſon honoured

who aſſumes the title of governor.

honoured with his commiſſion. Thoſe meaſures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldneſs; the timid ventured to declare their ſentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it neceſſary to chuſe a ſide, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the ſafeſt, as well as the moſt juſt[d]. BOOK VI. 1541.

ALMAGRO obſerved the rapid progreſs of this ſpirit of diſaffection to his cauſe, and in order to give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro, he ſet out at the head of his troops for Cuzco, where the moſt conſiderable body of opponents had erected the royal ſtandard, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the ſkilful guide of his youth, and of his counſels, died; and from that time his meaſures were conſpicuous for their violence, but concerted with little ſagacity, and executed with no addreſs. Holguin, who, with forces far inferior to thoſe of the oppoſite party, was deſcending towards the coaſt at the very time that Almagro was on his Conduct of Almagro. 1542.

[d] Benzon, lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 11. Gomara, c. 146, 147. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 1, 2, 3, 7. &c.

BOOK VI. 1542. way to Cuzco, deceived his unexperienced adverſary by a very ſimple ſtratagem, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the firſt to declare againſt Almagro as an uſurper.

Progreſs of Vaca de Caſtro.

Soon after, Vaca de Caſtro entered their camp with the troops which he brought from Quito, and erecting the royal ſtandard before his own tent, he declared, that as governor, he would diſcharge in perſon all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenour of his paſt life to the habits of a ſedentary and pacific profeſſion, he at once aſſumed the activity and diſcovered the deciſion of an officer long accuſtomed to command. Knowing his ſtrength to be now far ſuperior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the conteſt by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining a pardon for a crime ſo atrocious as the murder of the governor, de-

Sept. 16. cline that mode of deciſion. They met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animoſity inſpired by the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerneſs of re-

Defeats Almagro. venge, and the laſt efforts of deſpair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at laſt for Vaca de Caſtro. The ſuperior number of his

of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Francisco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro with a gallant spirit, worthy of a better cause, and deserving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquished, especially such as were conscious that they might be charged with being accessory to the assassination of Pizarro, rushing on the swords of the enemy, chose to fall like soldiers, rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men, the total amount of combatants on both sides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was still greater[c]. 1542.

Severity of his proceedings.

If the military talents displayed by Vaca de Castro, both in the council and in the field, surprised the adventurers in Peru, they were still more astonished at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid dispenser of justice, and persuaded that it required examples of

[c] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 12—19. Gomara, c. 148. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 11—18. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. i. c. 1, 2, 3. lib. iii. c. 1—11.

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extraordinary ſeverity to reſtrain the licentious ſpirit of ſoldiers ſo far removed from the ſeat of government, he proceeded directly to try his priſoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to ſuffer the death of traitors, others were baniſhed from Peru. Their leader, who made his eſcape from the battle, being betrayed by ſome of his officers, was publicly beheaded in Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the ſpirit of the party, was extinct [f].

Conſultations of the Emperor concerning his dominions in America.

DURING thoſe violent convulſions in Peru, the Emperor and his miniſters were intently employed in preparing regulations, by which they hoped not only to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity there, but to introduce a more perfect ſyſtem of internal policy into all their ſettlements in the New World. It is manifeſt from all the events recorded in the hiſtory of America, that rapid and extenſive as the Spaniſh conqueſts there had been, they were not carried on by any regular exertion of the national force, but by the occaſional efforts of private adventurers. After fitting out a few of the firſt armaments for diſcovering new regions, the court of Spain, during the buſy reigns of Ferdinand and of Charles V.,

[f] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 21. Gomara, c. 150. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 12. lib. vi. c. 1.

the

the former the moſt intriguing prince of the age, and the latter the moſt ambitious, was encumbered with ſuch a multiplicity of ſchemes, and involved in war with ſo many nations of Europe, that he had not leiſure to attend to diſtant and leſs intereſting objects. The care of proſecuting diſcovery, or of attempting conqueſt, was abandoned to individuals; and with ſuch ardour did men puſh forward in this new career, on which novelty, the ſpirit of adventure, avarice, ambition, and the hope of meriting heaven, prompted them with combined influence to enter, that in leſs than half a century almoſt the whole of that extenſive empire which Spain now poſſeſſes in the New World, was ſubjected to its dominion. As the Spaniſh court contributed nothing towards the various expeditions undertaken in America, it was not entitled to claim much from their ſucceſs. The ſovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and ſilver, was reſerved for the crown; every thing elſe was ſeized by the aſſociates in each expedition as their own right. The plunder of the countries which they invaded ſerved to indemnify them for what they had expended in equipping themſelves for the ſervice, and the conquered territory was divided among them, according to rules which cuſtom had introduced, as permanent eſtabliſhments which their

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ſucceſsful valour merited. In the infancy of thoſe ſettlements, when their extent as well as their value were unknown, many irregularities eſcaped obſervation, and it was found neceſſary to connive at many exceſſes. The conquered people were frequently pillaged with deſtructive rapacity, and their country parcelled out among its new maſters in exorbitant ſhares, far exceeding the higheſt recompence due to their ſervices. The rude conquerors of America, incapable of forming their eſtabliſhments upon any general or extenſive plan of policy, attentive only to private intereſt, unwilling to forego preſent gain from the proſpect of remote or public benefit, ſeem to have had no object but to amaſs ſudden wealth, without regarding what might be the conſequences of the means by which they acquired it. But when time at length diſcovered to the Spaniſh court the importance of its American poſſeſſions, the neceſſity of new-modelling their whole frame became obvious, and in place of the maxims and practices, prevalent among military adventurers, it was found requiſite to ſubſtitute the inſtitutions of regular government.

ONE evil in particular called for an immediate remedy. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru imitated the fatal example of their countrymen ſettled in the iſlands, and employed themſelves

ſelves in ſearching for gold and ſilver with the ſame inconſiderate eagerneſs. Similar effects followed. The natives employed in this labour by maſters, who in impoſing taſks had no regard either to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, pined away and periſhed ſo faſt, that there was reaſon to apprehend that Spain, inſtead of poſſeſſing countries peopled to ſuch a degree as to be ſuſceptible of progreſſive improvement, would ſoon remain proprietor only of a vaſt uninhabited deſert.

The Emperor and his miniſters were ſo ſenſible of this, and ſo ſolicitous to prevent the extinction of the Indian race, which threatened to render their acquiſitions of no value, that from time to time various laws, which I have mentioned, had been made for ſecuring to that unhappy people more gentle and equitable treatment. But the diſtance of America from the ſeat of empire, the feebleneſs of government in the new colonies, the avarice and audacity of ſoldiers unaccuſtomed to reſtraint, prevented theſe ſalutary regulations from operating with any conſiderable influence. The evil continued to grow, and at this time the Emperor found an interval of leiſure from the affairs of Europe to take it into attentive conſideration. He conſulted not only with his miniſters and the members of the council of the Indies,

The perſons with whom he adviſes.

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Indies, but called upon ſeveral perſons who had reſided long in the New World, to aid them with the reſult of their experience and obſervation. Fortunately for the people of America, among theſe was Bartholomew de las Caſas, who happened to be then at Madrid on a miſſion from a Chapter of his order at Chiapa[g]. Though ſince the miſcarriage of his former ſchemes for the relief of the Indians, he had continued ſhut up in his cloiſter, or occupied in religious functions, his zeal in behalf of the former objects of his pity was ſo far from abating, that, from an increaſed knowledge of their ſufferings, its ardour had augmented. He ſeized eagerly this opportunity of reviving his favourite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians. With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whoſe mind the ſcenes which he had beheld had made a deep impreſſion, he deſcribed the irreparable waſte of the human ſpecies in the New World, the Indian race almoſt totally ſwept away in the iſlands in leſs than fifty years, and haſtening to extinction on the continent with the ſame rapid decay. With the deciſive tone of one ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the truth of his own ſyſtem, he imputed all this to a ſingle cauſe, to the exactions and cruelty

[g] Remeſal Hiſt. de Chiapa, p. 146.

of

of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but the declaring of its natives to be freemen, and treating them as ſubjects, not as ſlaves. Nor did he confide for the ſucceſs of this propoſal in the powers of his oratory alone. In order to enforce them, he compoſed his famous treatiſe concerning the deſtruction of America[h], in which he relates, with many horrid circumſtances, but with apparent marks of exaggerated deſcription, the devaſtation of every province which had been viſited by the Spaniards.

His ſolicitude to introduce a general reformation of government.

THE Emperor was deeply afflicted with the recital of ſo many actions ſhocking to humanity. But as his views extended far beyond thoſe of Las Caſas, he perceived that relieving the Indians from oppreſſion was but one ſtep towards rendering his poſſeſſions in the New World a valuable acquiſition, and would be of little avail, unleſs he could circumſcribe the power and uſurpations of his own ſubjects there. The conquerors of America, however great their merit had been towards their country, were moſtly perſons of ſuch mean birth, and of ſuch an abject rank in ſociety, as gave no diſtinction in the eye of a monarch. The exorbitant wealth with which ſome of them

[h] Remeſal, p. 192. 199.

returned,

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returned, gave umbrage to an age not accuſtomed to ſee men in inferior condition elevated above their level, and riſing to emulate or to ſurpaſs the ancient nobility in ſplendour. The territories which their leaders had appropriated to themſelves were of ſuch enormous extent[1], that if the country ſhould ever be improved in proportion to the fertility of the ſoil, they muſt grow too wealthy and too powerful for ſubjects. It appeared to Charles that this abuſe required a remedy no leſs than the other, and that the regulations concerning both muſt be enforced by a mode of government more vigorous than had yet been introduced into America.

New regulations for this purpoſe.

WITH this view he framed a body of laws, containing many ſalutary appointments with reſpect to the conſtitution and powers of the ſupreme council of the Indies; concerning the ſtation and juriſdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America; the adminiſtration of juſtice; the order of government, both eccleſiaſtical and civil. Theſe were approved of by all ranks of men. But together with them were iſſued the following regulations, which excited univerſal alarm, and occaſioned the moſt violent convulſions: "That as the *repartimientos* or ſhares of land

[1] See NOTE XXIV.

ſeized

seized by several persons appeared to be excessive, the royal audiences are empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: That upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him shall not descend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: That the Indians shall henceforth be exempt from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labour in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fisheries: That the stated tribute due by them to their superior shall be ascertained, and they shall be paid as servants for any work they voluntarily perform: That all persons who are or have been in public offices, all ecclesiastics of every denomination, all hospitals and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, and these be annexed to the crown: That every person in Peru, who had any criminal concern in the contests between Pizarro and Almagro, should forfeit his lands and Indians[k]."

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His ministers remonstrate against them.

ALL the Spanish ministers who had hitherto been entrusted with the direction of American affairs, and who were best acquainted with the state of the country, remonstrated

[k] Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 5. Fernandez Hist. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

against

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againſt thoſe regulations as ruinous to their infant colonies. They repreſented, that the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New World was ſo extremely ſmall, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs towards improving the vaſt regions over which they were ſcattered; that the ſucceſs of every ſcheme for this purpoſe muſt depend upon the miniſtry and ſervice of the Indians, whoſe native indolence and averſion to labour, no proſpect of benefit or promiſe of reward could ſurmount; that the moment the right of impoſing a taſk, and exacting the performance of it, was taken from their maſters, every work of induſtry muſt ceaſe, and all the ſources from which wealth begun to pour in upon Spain muſt be ſtopt for ever. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, and ſo much impreſſed at preſent with the view of the diſorders which reigned in America, that he was willing to hazard the application even of a dangerous remedy, perſiſted in his reſolution of publiſhing the laws. That they might be carried into execution with greater vigour and authority, he authoriſed Franciſco Tello de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as *Viſitador* or ſuperintendant of that country, and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, in enforcing them.

He

He appointed Blaſco Nugnez Vela to be governor of Peru, with the title of viceroy; and in order to ſtrengthen his adminiſtration, he eſtabliſhed a court of royal audience in Lima, in which four lawyers of eminence were to preſide as judges[1].

1543. A viceroy appointed for Peru.

THE viceroy and ſuperintendant failed at the ſame time; and an account of the laws which they were to enforce reached America before them. The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was viewed as the prelude of general ruin. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America without diſtinction, andthere were hardly one who might not on ſome pretext be included under the other regulations, and ſuffer by them. But the colony in New Spain had now been ſo long accuſtomed to the reſtraints of law and authority under the ſteady and prudent adminiſtration of Mendoza, that how much ſoever the ſpirit of the new ſtatutes was deteſted and dreaded, no attempt was made to obſtruct the publication of them by any act of violence unbecoming ſubjects. The magiſtrates and principal inhabitants, however, preſented dutiful addreſſes to the viceroy and

Effects of the regulations in New Spain.

[1] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 24. Gomara, c. 151. Vega, p. 2. lib. iii. c. 20.

ſuper-

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1543. ſuperintendant, repreſenting the fatal conſequences of enforcing them. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long reſidence in the country, was ſo thoroughly acquainted with its ſtate, that he knew what was for its intereſt as well as what it could bear; and Sandoval, though new in office, diſplayed a degree of moderation ſeldom poſſeſſed by perſons juſt entering upon the exerciſe of power. They engaged to ſuſpend, for ſome time, the execution of what was offenſive in the new laws, and not only conſented that a deputation of citizens ſhould be ſent to Europe to lay before the Emperor the apprehenſions of his ſubjects in New Spain with reſpect to their tendency and effects, but they concurred with them in ſupporting their ſentiments. Charles, moved by the opinion of men whoſe abilities and integrity entitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately under their own view, granted ſuch a relaxation of the rigour of the laws as re-eſtabliſhed the colony in its former tranquillity[m].

In Peru. IN Peru the ſtorm gathered with an aſpect ſtill more fierce and threatening, and was not ſo ſoon diſpelled. The conquerors of Peru, of

[m] Fernandez Hiſt. lib. i. c. 3, 4, 5. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 21, 22. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. v. c. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15. Torquem. Mond. Ind. lib. v. c. 13.

a rank

a rank much inferior to thoſe who had ſubjected Mexico to the Spaniſh crown, farther removed from the inſpection of the parent ſtate, and intoxicated with the ſudden acquiſition of wealth, carried on all their operations with greater licence and irregularity than any body of adventurers in the New World. Amidſt the general ſubverſion of law and order, occaſioned by two ſucceſſive civil wars, when each individual was at liberty to decide for himſelf, without any guide but his own intereſt or paſſions, this turbulent ſpirit roſe above all ſenſe of ſubordination. To men thus corrupted by anarchy, the introduction of regular government, the power of a viceroy, and the authority of a reſpectable court of judicature, would of themſelves have appeared formidable reſtraints, to which they would have ſubmitted with reluctance. But they revolted with indignation againſt the idea of complying with laws, by which they were to be ſtripped at once of all they had earned ſo hardly during many years of ſervice and ſuffering. As the account of the new laws ſpread ſucceſſively through the different ſettlements, the inhabitants ran together, the women in tears, and the men exclaiming againſt the injuſtice and ingratitude of their ſovereign in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their poſſeſſions. "Is this," cried they, "the recompence due to perſons, who, without

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BOOK VI. 1543. without public aid, at their own expence, and by their own valour, have ſubjected to the crown of Caſtile territories of ſuch immenſe extent and opulence? Are theſe the rewards beſtowed for having endured unparalleled diſtreſs, for having encountered every ſpecies of danger in the ſervice of their country? Whoſe merit is ſo great, whoſe conduct has been ſo irreproachable, that he may not be condemned by ſome penal clauſe in regulations, conceived in terms as looſe and comprehenſive, as if it had been intended that all ſhould be entangled in their ſnare? Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held ſome public office, and all, without diſtinction, have been conſtrained to take an active part in the conteſt between the two rival chiefs. Were the former to be robbed of their property becauſe they had done their duty? Were the latter to be puniſhed on account of what they could not avoid? Shall the conquerors of this great empire, inſtead of receiving marks of diſtinction, be deprived of the natural conſolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for ſubſiſtence on the ſcanty ſupply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers[n]? We are not able now, continued they, to explore unknown regions in queſt of

[n] Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15.

not more

more ſecure ſettlements; our conſtitutions debilitated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active ſervice; but ſtill we poſſeſs vigour ſufficient to aſſert our juſt rights, and we will not tamely ſuffer them to be wreſted from us°."

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An inſurrection prevented by the moderation of Caſtro.

By diſcourſes of this ſort, uttered with vehemence, and liſtened to with univerſal approbation, their paſſions were inflamed to ſuch a pitch, that they were prepared for the moſt violent meaſures; and began to hold conſultations in different places, how they might oppoſe the entrance of the viceroy and judges, and prevent not only the execution but the promulgation of the new laws. From this, however, they were diverted by the addreſs of Vaca de Caſtro, who flattered them with hopes, that, as ſoon as the viceroy and judges ſhould arrive, and had leiſure to examine their petitions and remonſtrances, they would concur with them in endeavouring to procure ſome mitigation in the rigour of laws which had been framed without due attention either to the ſtate of the country, or to the ſentiments of the people. A greater degree of accommodation to theſe, and even ſome conceſſions on the part of government, were now

° Gomara, c. 152. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 10, 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 20. 22. lib. iv. c. 3, 4.

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become requiſite to compoſe the preſent ferment, and to ſoothe the coloniſts into ſubmiſſion, by inſpiring them with confidence in their ſuperiors. But without profound diſcernment, conciliating manners, and flexibility of temper, ſuch a plan could not be carried on. The viceroy poſſeſſed none of theſe. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, he was endowed only with integrity and courage; the former harſh and uncomplying, the latter bordering ſo frequently on raſhneſs or obſtinacy, that in his ſituation they were defects rather than virtues. From the moment that he landed at Tumbez, Nugnez Vela ſeems to have conſidered himſelf merely as an executive officer, without any diſcretionary power; and, regardleſs of whatever he obſerved or heard concerning the ſtate of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigour. In all the towns through which he paſſed, the natives were declared to be free, every perſon in public office was deprived of his lands and ſervants; and as an example of obedience to others, he would not ſuffer a ſingle Indian to be employed in carrying his own baggage in his march towards Lima. Amazement and conſternation went before him as he approached; and ſo little ſolicitous was he to prevent theſe from augmenting, that, on entering

The ſpirit of diſaffection increaſed by the viceroy.

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tering the capital, he openly avowed that he came to obey the orders of his ſovereign, not to diſpenſe with his laws. This harſh declaration was accompanied with what rendered it ſtill more intolerable, haughtineſs in deportment, a tone of arrogance and deciſion in diſcourſe, and an inſolence of office grievous to men little accuſtomed to hold civil authority in high reſpect. Every attempt to procure a ſuſpenſion or mitigation of the new laws, the viceroy conſidered as flowing from a ſpirit of diſaffection that tended to rebellion. Several perſons of rank were confined, and ſome put to death, without any form of trial. Vaca de Caſtro was arreſted, and notwithſtanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit, in having prevented a general inſurrection in the colony, he was loaded with chains, and ſhut up in the common jail[b].

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But however general the indignation was againſt ſuch proceedings, it is probable the hand of authority would have been ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs it, or to prevent it burſting out with open violence, if the malcontents had not been provided with a leader of credit and eminence to unite and to direct their efforts. From the time that the purport of the

The malcontents chuſe Gonzalo Pizarro to be their leader.

[b] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 23, 24, 25. Gomara, c. 153—155. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 4, 5. Fernandez, lib. 1. c. 6—10.

BOOK VI. 1543. new regulations was known in Peru, every Spaniard there turned his eyes towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only perſon able to avert the ruin with which they threatened the colony. From all quarters, letters and addreſſes were ſent to him, conjuring him to ſtand forth as their common protector, and offering to ſupport him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes. Gonzalo, though inferior in talents to his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of courage no leſs daring. The behaviour of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himſelf, dwelt continually on his mind. Ferdinand a ſtate priſoner in Europe, the children of the governor in cuſtody of the viceroy, and ſent aboard his fleet, himſelf reduced to the condition of a private citizen in a country, for the diſcovery and conqueſt of which Spain was indebted to his family. Theſe thoughts prompted him to ſeek for vengeance, and to aſſert the rights of his family, of which he now conſidered himſelf as the guardian and the heir. But as no Spaniard can eaſily ſurmount that veneration for his ſovereign which ſeems to be interwoven in his frame, the idea of marching in arms againſt the royal ſtandard filled him with horror. He heſitated long, and was ſtill unreſolved, when the violence of the viceroy, the univerſal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of

of becoming ſoon a victim himſelf to the ſeverity of the new laws, moved him to quit his reſidence at Chuquiſaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with tranſports of joy as the deliverer of the colony. In the fervour of their zeal, they elected him procurator-general of the Spaniſh nation in Peru, to ſolicit the repeal of the late regulations. They empowered him to lay their remonſtrances before the royal audience in Lima, and upon pretext of danger from the Indians, authoriſed him to march thither in arms. Under ſanction of this nomination Pizarro took poſſeſſion of the royal treaſure, appointed officers, levied ſoldiers, ſeized a large train of artillery, which Vaca de Caſtro had depoſited in Gumanga, and ſet out for Lima, as if he had been advancing againſt a public enemy. Diſaffection having now aſſumed a regular form, and being united under a chief of ſuch diſtinguiſhed name, many perſons of note reſorted to his ſtandard; and a conſiderable part of the troops, raiſed by the viceroy to oppoſe his progreſs, deſerted to him in a body [q].

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[q] Zarate, lib. v. c. 1. Gomara, c. 156, 157. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 4—12. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 12—17. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 18, &c. lib. viii. c. 1—5.

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1544. Diſſentions of the viceroy and court of audience.

BEFORE Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had happened there, which encouraged him to proceed with almoſt certainty of ſucceſs. The violence of the viceroy's adminiſtration was not more formidable to the Spaniards of Peru, than his overbearing haughtineſs was odious to his aſſociates, the judges of the royal audience. During their voyage from Spain, ſome ſymptoms of coldneſs between the viceroy and them began to appear[r]. But as ſoon as they entered upon the exerciſe of their reſpective offices, both parties were ſo much exaſperated by frequent conteſts, ariſing from interference of juriſdiction and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual diſguſt ſoon grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every meaſure, ſet at liberty priſoners whom he had confined, juſtified the malcontents, and applauded their remonſtrances. At a time when both departments of government ſhould have united againſt the approaching enemy, they were contending with each other for ſuperiority. The judges at length prevailed. The viceroy, univerſally odious, and abandoned even by his own guards, was ſeized in his palace, and carried to a deſert iſland on the coaſt, to be kept there until he could be ſent home to Spain.

The viceroy impriſoned. Sept. 18.

[r] Gomara, c. 171.

THE

1544. Views of Pizarro.

THE judges, in conſequence of this, having aſſumed the ſupreme direction of affairs into their own hands, iſſued a proclamation ſuſpending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and ſent a meſſage to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could requeſt, to diſmiſs his troops, and to repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. They could hardly expect that a man ſo daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requiſition. It was made, probably, with no ſuch intention, but only to throw a decent veil over their own conduct; for Cepeda, the preſident of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aſpiring lawyer, ſeems to have held a ſecret correſpondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himſelf to his ſervice. The impriſonment of the viceroy, the uſurpation of the judges, together with the univerſal confuſion and anarchy conſequent upon events ſo ſingular and unexpected, opened new and vaſt proſpects to Pizarro. He now beheld the ſupreme power within his reach. Nor did he want courage to puſh on towards the object which fortune preſented to his view. Carvajal, the prompter of his reſolutions, and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his eye upon it as the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. Inſtead of the inferior function of procurator

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for the Spaniſh ſettlements in Peru, he openly demanded to be governor and captain-general of the whole province, and required the court of audience to grant him a commiſſion to that effect. At the head of twelve hundred men, within a mile of Lima, where there was neither leader nor army to oppoſe him, ſuch a requeſt carried with it the authority of a command. But the judges, either from unwillingneſs to relinquiſh power, or from a deſire of preſerving ſome attention to appearances, heſitated, or ſeemed to heſitate, about complying with what he demanded. Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, ſeized ſeveral officers of diſtinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience iſſued a commiſſion in the Emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers, civil as well as military, and he entered the town that day with extraordinary pomp, to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity [s].

He aſſumes the government.

Oct. 28. The viceroy recovers his liberty.

BUT amidſt the diſorder and turbulence which accompanied this total diſſolution of the frame

[s] Zarate, lib. v. c. 8—10. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 13—19. Gomara, c. 159—163. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 18—25. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 10—20.

of government, the minds of men, ſet looſe from the ordinary reſtraints of law and authority, acted with ſuch capricious irregularity, that events no leſs extraordinary than unexpected followed in a rapid ſucceſſion. Pizarro had ſcarcely begun to exerciſe the new powers with which he was inveſted, when he beheld formidable enemies riſe up to oppoſe him. The viceroy having been put on board a veſſel by the judges of the audience, in order that he might be carried to Spain under cuſtody of Juan Alvarez one of their own number; as ſoon as they were out at ſea, Alvarez, either touched with remorſe, or moved by fear, kneeled down to his priſoner, declaring him from that moment to be free, and that he himſelf, and every perſon in the ſhip, would obey him as the legal repreſentative of their ſovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered the pilot of the veſſel to ſhape his courſe towards Tumbez, and as ſoon as he landed there, erected the royal ſtandard, and reſumed his functions of viceroy. Several perſons of note, to whom the contagion of the ſeditious ſpirit which reigned at Cuzco and Lima had not reached, inſtantly avowed their reſolution to ſupport his authority[t]. The violence of Pizarro's go-

[t] Zarate, lib. 5. c. 9. Gomara, c. 165. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 23. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 15.

vernment,

BOOK VI. 1544. vernment, who obſerved every individual with the jealouſy natural to uſurpers, and who puniſhed every appearance of diſaffection with unforgiving ſeverity, ſoon augmented the number of the viceroy's adherents, as it forced ſome leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. While he was gathering ſuch ſtrength at Tumbez, that his forces began to aſſume the appearance of what was conſidered as an army in America, Diego Centeno, a bold and active officer, exaſperated by the cruelty and oppreſſion of Pizarro's lieutenant-governor in the province of Charcas, formed a conſpiracy againſt his life, cut him off, and declared for the viceroy [u].

1545. Pizarro marches againſt him. PIZARRO, though alarmed with thoſe appearances of hoſtility in the oppoſite extremes of the empire was not diſconcerted. He prepared to aſſert the authority to which he had attained, with the ſpirit and conduct of an officer accuſtomed to command, and marched directly againſt the viceroy as the enemy who was neareſt as well as moſt formidable. As he was maſter of the public revenues in Peru, and moſt of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were ſo numerous, that

[u] Zarate, lib. v. c. 18. Gomara, c. 169. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. ix. c. 27.

the

the viceroy, unable to face them, retreated towards Quito. Pizarro followed him; and in that long march, through a wild mountainous country, ſuffered hardſhips and encountered difficulties, which no troops but thoſe accuſtomed to ſerve in America could have endured or ſurmounted[w]. The viceroy had ſcarcely reached Quito, when the vanguard of Pizarro's forces appeared, led by Carvajal, who, though near fourſcore, was as hardy and active as any young ſoldier under his command. Nugnez Vela inſtantly abandoned a town incapable of defence, and with a rapidity more reſembling a flight than a retreat, marched into the province of Popayan. Pizarro continued to purſue; but finding it impoſſible to overtake him, returned to Quito. From thence he diſpatched Carvajal to oppoſe Centeno, who was growing formidable in the ſouthern provinces of the empire, and he himſelf remained there to make head againſt the viceroy[x]. BOOK VI. 1545.

By his own activity, and the aſſiſtance of Benalcazar, Nugnez Vela ſoon aſſembled four hundred men in Popayan. As he retained, The viceroy defeated,

[w] See NOTE XXV.

[x] Zarate, lib. v. c. 15, 16—24. Gomara, c. 167. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 25—28. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 34. 40. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 16. 20—27.

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amidſt all his diſaſters, the ſame elevation of mind, and the ſame high ſenſe of his own dignity, he rejected with diſdain the advice of ſome of his followers who urged him to make overtures of accommodation to Pizarro, declaring that it was only by the ſword that a conteſt with rebels could be decided. With this intention he marched back to Quito. Pizarro, relying on the ſuperior number, and ſtill more on the diſcipline and valour of his troops, advanced reſolutely to meet him. The battle was fierce and bloody, both parties fighting like men who knew that the poſſeſſion of a great empire, the fate of their leaders, and their own future fortune, depended upon the iſſue of that day. But Pizarro's veterans puſhed forward with ſuch regular and well-directed force, that they ſoon began to make impreſſion on their enemies. The viceroy, by extraordinary exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and the courage of a ſoldier were equally diſplayed, held victory for ſome time in ſuſpence. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds; and the rout of his followers became general. They were hotly purſued. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet in Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph. The troops aſſembled by Centeno were diſperſed ſoon after by Carvajal,

1545.

1546.

January 18.

and ſlain.

Carvajal, and he himſelf compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for ſeveral months concealed in a cave. Every perſon in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to thoſe of Chili, ſubmitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojoſa, he had not only the unrivalled command of the South Sea, but had taken poſſeſſion of Panama, and placed a garriſon in Nombre de Dios, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſthmus, which rendered him maſter of the only avenue of communication between Spain and Peru, that was uſed at that period[y].

1546.

Pizarro adviſed to aſſume the ſovereignty of Peru.

AFTER this deciſive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for ſome time at Quito, and during the firſt tranſports of their exultation, they ran into every exceſs of licentious indulgence, with the riotous ſpirit uſual among low adventurers upon extraordinary ſucceſs. But amidſt this diſſipation, their chief and his confidents were obliged to turn their thoughts ſometimes to what was ſerious, and deliberated with much ſolicitude concerning the part that he ought now to take. Carvajal, no leſs bold and deciſive in council than in the field, had

[y] Zarate, lib. v. c. 31, 32. Gomara, c. 170. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 33, 34. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 51—54. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. x. c. 12. 19—22. dec. 8. lib. i. c. 1—3. Benzo, lib. iii. c. 12.

from

BOOK VI. 1546.

from the beginning warned Pizarro, that in the career on which he was entering, it was vain to think of holding a middle courſe; that he muſt either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing. From the time that Pizarro obtained poſſeſſion of the government of Peru, he inculcated the ſame maxim with greater earneſtneſs. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonſtrated with him in a tone ſtill more peremptory. "You have uſurped (ſaid he, in a letter written to Pizarro on that occaſion) the ſupreme power in this country, in contempt of the Emperor's commiſſion to the viceroy. You have marched in hoſtile array againſt the royal ſtandard; you have attacked the repreſentative of your ſovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that ever a monarch will forgive ſuch inſults on his dignity, or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or ſincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favour of another. Aſſume yourſelf the ſovereignty over a country, to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of diſcovery and conqueſt. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru of any conſequence inviolably to your intereſt by liberal grants of lands and of Indians, or by inſtituting ranks of nobility, and creating titles of honour ſimilar to thoſe which

are

are courted with ſo much eagerneſs in Europe. By eſtabliſhing orders of knighthood, with privileges and diſtinctions reſembling thoſe in Spain, you may beſtow a gratification upon the officers in your ſervice, ſuited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavour to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya, or daughter of the Sun next in ſucceſſion to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in ſupport of your authority. Thus, at the head of the ancient inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new ſettlers there, you may ſet at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with eaſe any feeble force which it can ſend at ſuch a diſtance." Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counſellor, warmly ſeconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he poſſeſſed in demonſtrating, that all the founders of great monarchies had been raiſed to pre-eminence, not by the antiquity of their lineage, or the validity of their rights, but by their own aſpiring valour and perſonal merit[z].

[z] Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 40. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 34. lib. ii. c. 1. 49. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 10.

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1546. But chuſes to negociate with the court of Spain.

Pizarro liſtened attentively to both, and could not conceal the ſatisfaction with which he contemplated the object that they preſented to his view. But happily for the tranquillity of the world, few men poſſeſs that ſuperior ſtrength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing ſuch daring ſchemes, as cannot be accompliſhed without overturning the eſtabliſhed order of ſociety, and violating thoſe maxims of duty which men are accuſtomed to hold ſacred. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents circumſcribed his ambition within more narrow limits. Inſtead of aſpiring at independent power, he confined his views to the obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority which he now poſſeſſed; and for that purpoſe, he ſent an officer of diſtinction thither, to give ſuch a repreſentation of his conduct, and of the ſtate of the country, as might induce the Emperor and his miniſters, either from inclination or from neceſſity, to continue him in his preſent ſtation.

Conſultations of the Spaniſh miniſters.

While Pizarro was deliberating with reſpect to the part which he ſhould take, conſultations were held in Spain, with no leſs ſolicitude, concerning the meaſures which ought to be purſued in order to re-eſtabliſh the Emperor's authority

authority in Peru. Though unacquainted with the laſt exceſſes of outrage to which the malcontents had proceeded in that country, the court had received an account of the inſurrection againſt the viceroy, of his impriſonment, and the uſurpation of the government by Pizarro. A revolution ſo alarming called for an immediate interpoſition of the Emperor's abilities and authority. But as he was fully occupied at that time in Germany, in conducting the war againſt the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the moſt intereſting and arduous enterpriſes in his reign, the care of providing a remedy for the diſorders in Peru devolved upon his ſon Philip, and the counſellors whom Charles had appointed to aſſiſt him in the government of Spain during his abſence. At firſt view, the actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared ſo repugnant to the duty of ſubjects towards their ſovereign, that the greater part of the miniſters inſiſted on declaring them inſtantly to be guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to puniſh them with exemplary rigour. But when the fervour of their zeal and indignation began to abate, innumerable obſtacles to the execution of this meaſure preſented themſelves. The veteran bands of infantry, the ſtrength and glory of the Spaniſh armies, were then employed in Germany.

BOOK VI. 1546.

BOOK VI. 1546. Spain, exhauſted of men and money by a long ſeries of wars, in which ſhe had been involved by the reſtleſs ambition of two ſucceſſive monarchs, could not eaſily equip an armament of ſufficient force to reduce Pizarro. To tranſport any reſpectable body of troops to a country ſo remote as Peru, appeared almoſt impoſſible. While Pizarro continued maſter of the South Sea, the direct route by Nombre de Dios and Panama was impracticable. An attempt to march to Quito by land through the new kingdom of Granada, and the province of Popayan, acroſs regions of prodigious extent, deſolate, unhealthy, or inhabited by fierce and hoſtile tribes, would be attended with unſurmountable danger and hardſhips. The paſſage to the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan was ſo tedious, ſo uncertain, and ſo little known in that age, that no confidence could be placed in any effort carried on in a courſe of navigation ſo remote and precarious. Nothing then remained but to relinquiſh the ſyſtem which the ardour of their loyalty had firſt ſuggeſted, and to attempt by lenient meaſures what could not be effected by force. It was manifeſt, from Pizarro's ſolicitude to repreſent his conduct in a favourable light to the Emperor, that, notwithſtanding the exceſſes of which he had been guilty, he ſtill retained ſenti-

ſentiments of veneration for his ſovereign. By a proper application to theſe, together with ſome ſuch conceſſions as ſhould diſcover a ſpirit of moderation and forbearance in government, there was ſtill room to hope that he might be yet reclaimed, or the ideas of loyalty natural to Spaniards might ſo far revive among his followers, that they would no longer lend their aid to uphold his uſurped authority. BOOK VI. 1546.

THE ſucceſs, however, of this negociation, no leſs delicate than it was important, depended entirely on the abilities and addreſs of the perſon to whom it ſhould be committed. After weighing with much attention the comparative merit of various perſons, the Spaniſh miniſters fixed with unanimity of choice upon Pedro de la Gaſca, a prieſt in no higher ſtation than that of counſellor to the Inquiſition. Though in no public office, he had been occaſionally employed by government in affairs of truſt and conſequence, and had conducted them with no leſs ſkill than ſucceſs; diſplaying a gentle and inſinuating temper, accompanied with much firmneſs; probity, ſuperior to any feeling of private intereſt; and a cautious circumſpection in concerting meaſures, followed by ſuch vigour in executing them, as is rarely found in alliance with the other. Gaſca appointed to repair to Peru as preſident.

BOOK VI. 1546.

These qualities marked him out for the function to which he was destined. The Emperor, to whom Gasca was not unknown, warmly approved of the choice, and communicated it to him in a letter containing expressions of good-will and confidence, no less honourable to the prince who wrote, than to the subject who received it. Gasca, notwithstanding his advanced age and feeble constitution, and though, from the apprehensions natural to a man, who, during the course of his life, had never been out of his own country, he dreaded the effects of a long voyage, and of an unhealthy climate [a], did not hesitate a moment about complying with the will of his sovereign.

His moderation.

But as a proof that it was from this principle alone he acted, he refused a bishopric which was offered to him, in order that he might appear in Peru with a more dignified character; he would accept of no higher title than that of President of the Court of Audience in Lima; and declared that he would receive no salary on account of his discharging the duties of that office. All he required was, that the expence of supporting his family should be defrayed by the public, and as he was to go like a minister of peace with his gown and breviary,

[a] Fernandez, lib. 2. c. 17.

and

and without any retinue but a few domeſtics, this would not load the revenue with any enormous burden [b]. 1546.

The powers committed to him.

But while he diſcovered ſuch diſintereſted moderation with reſpect to whatever related perſonally to himſelf, he demanded his official powers in a very different tone. He inſiſted, as he was to be employed in a country ſo remote from the ſeat of government, where he could not have recourſe to his ſovereign for new inſtructions on every emergence; and as the whole ſucceſs of his negociations muſt depend upon the confidence which the people with whom he had to treat could place in the extent of his powers, that he ought to be inveſted with unlimited authority; that his juriſdiction muſt reach to all perſons and to all cauſes; that he muſt be empowered to pardon, to puniſh, or to reward, as circumſtances and the behaviour of different men might require; that in caſe of reſiſtance from the malcontents, he might be authoriſed to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, to levy troops for that purpoſe, and to call for aſſiſtance from the governors of all the Spaniſh ſettlements in America. Theſe powers, though mani-

[b] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6. Gomara, c. 174. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 14—16. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. i. c. 4, &c.

BOOK VI. 1546.

feſtly conducive to the great objects of his miſſion, appeared to the Spaniſh miniſters to be inalienable prerogatives of royalty, which ought not to be delegated to a ſubject, and they refuſed to grant them. But the Emperor's views were more enlarged. As, from the nature of his employment, Gaſca muſt be entruſted with diſcretionary power in ſeveral points, and all his efforts might prove ineffectual if he was circumſcribed in any one particular, Charles ſcrupled not to inveſt him with authority to the full extent that he demanded. Highly ſatisfied with this freſh proof of his maſter's confidence, Gaſca haſtened his departure, and, without either money or troops, ſet out to quell a formidable rebellion [c].

July 27. His arrival at Panama.

ON his arrival at Nombre de Dios, he found Herman Mexia, an officer of note, poſted there, by order of Pizarro, with a conſiderable body of men, to oppoſe the landing of any hoſtile forces. But Gaſca appeared in ſuch pacific guiſe, with a train ſo little formidable, and with a title of no ſuch dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much reſpect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama, and met with a ſimilar reception from Hinojoſa, whom Pizarro had entruſted

[c] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 16—18.

with

with the government of that town, and the command of his fleet ſtationed there. In both places he held the ſame language, declaring that he was ſent by their ſovereign as a meſſenger of peace, not as a miniſter of vengeance; that he came to redreſs all their grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, to pardon paſt offences, and to re-eſtabliſh order and juſtice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the ſimplicity of his manners, the ſanctity of his profeſſion, and a winning appearance of candour, gained credit to his declarations. The veneration due to a perſon clothed with legal authority, and acting in virtue of a royal commiſſion, began to revive among men accuſtomed for ſome time to nothing more reſpectable than an uſurped juriſdiction. Hinojoſa, Mexia, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, to each of whom Gaſca applied ſeparately, were gained over to his intereſt, and waited only for ſome decent occaſion of declaring openly in his favour [d].

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THIS the violence of Pizarro ſoon afforded them. As ſoon as he heard of Gaſca's arrival at Panama, though he received, at the ſame time, an account of the nature of his commiſ-

Violent proceedings of Pizarro.

[d] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 21, &c. Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6, 7. Gomara, c. 175. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 3.

BOOK VI. 1546.

sion, and was informed of his offers not only to render every Spaniard in Peru easy concerning what was past, by an act of general oblivion; but secure with respect to the future by repealing the obnoxious laws; instead of accepting with gratitude his sovereign's gracious concessions, he was so much exasperated on finding that he was not to be continued in his station as governor of the country, that he instantly resolved to oppose the president's entry into Peru, and to prevent his exercising any jurisdiction there. To this desperate resolution he added another highly prepostrous. He sent a new deputation to Spain to justify this conduct, and to insist, in name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himself during life, as the only means of preserving tranquillity there. The persons entrusted with this strange commission, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the president, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama and return to Spain. They carried likewise secret instructions to Hinojosa, directing him to offer Gasca a present of fifty thousand pesos, if he would comply voluntarily with what was demanded of him; and if he should continue obstinate, to cut him off, either by assassination or poison [e].

[e] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 8. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 33, 34. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. 2. c. 9, 10.

MANY

BOOK VI.

1546. Gaſca gains his fleet.

MANY circumſtances concurred in puſhing on Pizarro to thoſe wild meaſures. Having been once accuſtomed to ſupreme command, he could not bear the thoughts of deſcending to a private ſtation. Conſcious of his own demerit, he ſuſpected that the Emperor ſtudied only to deceive him, and would never pardon the outrages which he had committed. His chief confidents, no leſs guilty, entertained the ſame apprehenſions. The approach of Gaſca without any military force excited no terror. There were now above ſix thouſand Spaniards ſettled in Peru[f]; and at the head of theſe he doubted not to maintain his own independence, if the court of Spain ſhould refuſe to grant what he required. But he knew not that a ſpirit of defection had already begun to ſpread among thoſe whom he truſted moſt. Hinojoſa, amazed at Pizarro's precipitate reſolution of ſetting himſelf in oppoſition to the Emperor's commiſſion, and diſdaining to be his inſtrument in perpetrating the odious crimes pointed out in his ſecret inſtructions, publicly recognized the title of the preſident to the ſupreme authority in Peru. The officers under his command did the ſame. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who

[f] Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iii. c. 1.

had

BOOK VI. 1546. had been sent from Peru; and at the time when Pizarro expected to hear either of Gasca's return to Spain, or of his death, he received an account of his being master of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops stationed there.

1547. Pizarro resolves on war. IRRITATED almost to madness by events so unexpected, he openly prepared for war; and in order to give some colour of justice to his arms, he appointed the court of audience in Lima to proceed to the trial of Gasca, for the crimes of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding in their voyage to Spain. Cepeda, though acting as a judge in virtue of the royal commission, did not scruple to prostitute the dignity of his function by finding Gasca guilty of treason, and condemning him to death on that account [g]. Wild, and even ridiculous as this proceeding was, it imposed on the low illiterate adventurers, with whom Peru was filled, by the semblance of a legal sanction warranting Pizarro to carry on hostilities against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly resorted from every quarter to his standard, and he was soon at the head of a thousand men,

[g] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 55. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iii. c. 6.

the

the beſt equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru. BOOK VI. 1547.

Gasca, on his part, perceiving that force muſt be employed in order to accompliſh the purpoſe of his miſſion, was no leſs aſſiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other ſettlements on the continent; and with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was ſoon in a condition to detach a ſquadron of his fleet, with a conſiderable body of ſoldiers, to the coaſt of Peru. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not attempt for ſome time to make any deſcent, they did more effectual ſervice by ſetting aſhore in different places perſons who diſperſed copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known every where the pacific intentions, as well as mild temper, of the preſident. The effect of ſpreading this information was wonderful. All who were diſſatisfied with Pizarro's violent adminiſtration, all who retained any ſentiments of fidelity to their ſovereign, began to meditate revolt. Some openly deſerted a cauſe which they now deemed to be unjuſt. Centeno, leaving the cave in which he lay concealed, aſſembled about fifty of his former adherents, and with this feeble half-armed band advanced boldly to

Preparations of Gaſca.

April.

Inſurrection of Centeno.

BOOK VI. 1547.

Cuzco. By a ſudden attack in the night time, in which he diſplayed no leſs military ſkill than valour, he rendered himſelf maſter of that capital, though defended by a garriſon of five hundred men. Moſt of theſe having ranged themſelves under his banners, he had ſoon the command of a reſpectable body of troops [h].

againſt whom Pizarro marches.

PIZARRO, though aſtoniſhed at beholding one enemy approaching by ſea, and another by land, at a time when he truſted to the union of all Peru in his favour, was of a ſpirit more undaunted, and more accuſtomed to the viciſſitudes of fortune, than to be diſconcerted or appalled. As the danger from Centeno's operations was the moſt urgent, he inſtantly ſet out to oppoſe him. Having provided horſes for all his ſoldiers, he marched with amazing rapidity. But every morning he found his force diminiſhed, by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became ſuſpicious to exceſs, and puniſhed without mercy all whom he ſuſpected, the rage of deſertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within ſight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake Titiaca, he could not muſter more than four hundred

[h] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 13—16. Gomara, c. 180, 181. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 28. 64, &c.

ſoldiers.

soldiers. But these he justly considered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldest and most desperate of his followers, conscious, like himself, of crimes for which they could hardly expect forgiveness, and without any hope but in the success of their arms. With these he did not hesitate to attack Centeno's troops, though double to his own in number. The royalists did not decline the combat. It was the most obstinate and bloody that had hitherto been fought in Peru. At length the intrepid valour of Pizarro, and the superiority of Carvajal's military talents, triumphed over numbers, and obtained a complete victory. The booty was immense[i], and the treatment of the vanquished cruel. By this signal success the reputation of Pizarro was re-established, and being now deemed invincible in the field, his army increased daily in number[k]. BOOK VI. 1547. October 20. and defeats him.

But events happened in other parts of Peru, which more than counterbalanced the splendid victory at Huarina. Pizarro had scarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppressive

[i] See NOTE XXVI.

[k] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 2, 3. Gomara, c. 181. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 18, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 79. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 1, 2.

BOOK VI

dominion, erected the royal ſtandard, and Aldana, with a detachment of ſoldiers from the fleet, took poſſeſſion of the town. About the ſame time[l], Gaſca landed at Tumbez with five hundred men. Encouraged by his preſence, every ſettlement in the low country declared for the King. The ſituation of the two parties was now perfectly reverſed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were poſſeſſed by Pizarro; all the reſt of the empire, from Quito ſouthward, acknowledged the juriſdiction of the preſident. As his numbers augmented faſt, Gaſca advanced into the interior part of the country. His behaviour ſtill continued to be gentle and unaſſuming; he expreſſed, on every occaſion, his ardent wiſh of terminating the conteſt without bloodſhed. More ſolicitous to reclaim than to puniſh, he upbraided no man for paſt offences, but received them as a father receives penitent children returning to a ſenſe of their duty. Though deſirous of peace, he did not ſlacken his preparations for war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xauxa, on the road to Cuzco[m]. There he remained for ſome months, not only that he might have time to make another attempt towards an

1547. Gaſca lands at Peru.

Advances towards Cuzco.

[l] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 17.

[m] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 9. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 77. 82.

accom-

accommodation with Pizarro, but that he might train his new ſoldiers to the uſe of arms, and accuſtom them to the diſcipline of a camp, before he led them againſt a body of victorious veterans. Pizarro, intoxicated with the ſucceſs which had hitherto accompanied his arms, and elated with having again near a thouſand men under his command, refuſed to liſten to any terms, although Cepeda, together with ſeveral of his officers, and even Carvajal himſelf[n], gave it as their advice to cloſe with the preſident's offer of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws[o]. Gaſca having tried in vain every expedient to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, began to move towards Cuzco, at the head of ſixteen hundred men. BOOK VI. 1547. Dec. 29.

Pizarro, confident of victory, ſuffered the royaliſts to paſs all the rivers which lie between Guamanga and Cuzco without oppoſition, and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himſelf that a defeat in ſuch a ſituation as rendered eſcape impracticable would at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and Carvajal choſe his ground, and made the diſpoſition of the troops Both parties prepare for battle. 1548.

[n] See NOTE XXVII.

[o] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 6. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 27.

with

BOOK VI. 1548. April 9.

with the diſcerning eye, and profound knowledge in the art of war conſpicuous in all its operations. *As the two armies moved forwards* ſlowly to the charge, the appearance of each was ſingular. In that of Pizarro, compoſed of men enriched with the ſpoils of the moſt opulent country in America, every officer and almoſt all the private men, were clothed in ſtuffs of ſilk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and ſilver; and their horſes, their arms, their ſtandards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp [p]. That of Gaſca, though not ſo ſplendid, exhibited what was no leſs ſtriking. He himſelf, accompanied by the archbiſhop of Lima, the biſhops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of eccleſiaſtics, marching along the lines, bleſſing the men, and encouraging them to a reſolute diſcharge of their duty.

Pizarro deſerted by his troops.

WHEN both armies were juſt ready to engage, Cepeda ſet ſpurs to his horſe, galloped off, and ſurrendered himſelf to the preſident. Garcilaſſo de la Vega, and other officers of note, followed his example. The revolt of perſons in ſuch high rank ſtruck all with amazement. The mutual confidence on which the union and

[p] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 11.

ſtrength

ſtrength of armies depend, ceaſed at once. Diſtruſt and conſternation ſpread from rank to rank. Some ſilently ſlipped away, others threw down their arms, the greateſt number went over to the royaliſts. Pizarro, Carvajal, and ſome leaders, employed authority, threats, and entreaties, to ſtop them, but in vain. In leſs than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally diſperſed. Pizarro, ſeeing all irretrievably loſt, cried out in amazement to a few officers who ſtill faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us ruſh," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's firmeſt battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected with ſuch a reverſe of fortune, he had not ſpirit to follow this ſoldierly counſel, and with a tameneſs diſgraceful to his former fame, he ſurrendered to one of Gaſca's officers. Carvajal, endeavouring to eſcape, was overtaken and ſeized.

BOOK VI. 1548.

taken,

Gasca, happy in this bloodleſs victory, did not ſtain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a ſmall number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed or notorious offenders, were puniſhed capitally. Pizarro was beheaded on the day after he ſurrendered. He ſubmitted to his fate with a compoſed dignity, and ſeemed deſirous

and put to death.

BOOK VI. 1548.

to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was ſuitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the ſentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he careleſsly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the ſentence and execution, he diſcovered no ſign either of remorſe for the paſt, or of ſolicitude about the future; ſcoffing at all who viſited him, in his uſual ſarcaſtic vein of mirth, with the ſame quickneſs of repartee and groſs pleaſantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have ſhared the ſame fate; but the merit of having deſerted his aſſociates at ſuch a critical moment, and with ſuch deciſive effect, ſaved him from immediate puniſhment. He was ſent, however, as a priſoner to Spain, and died in confinement[q].

In the minute detail which the contemporary hiſtorians have given of the civil diſſentions that raged in Peru, with little interruption during ten years, many circumſtances occur ſo ſtriking, and which indicate ſuch an uncommon ſtate of manners, as to merit particular attention.

[q] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 6, 7, 8. Gomara, c. 185, 186. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 30, &c. Fernandez. lib. ii. c. 86, &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 14, &c.

Though

1548.

No mercenary soldiers in the civil wars of Peru.

THOUGH the Spaniards who firſt invaded Peru were of the loweſt order in ſociety, and the greater part of thoſe who afterwards joined them were perſons of deſperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for ſuperiority, not one man acted as a hired ſoldier, that follows his ſtandard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru conſidered himſelf as a conqueror, entitled, by his ſervices, to an eſtabliſhment in that country which had been acquired by his valour. In the conteſts between the rival chiefs, each choſe his ſide as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and diſdained to degrade himſelf by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their ſword, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that moſt of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the ſame means, to open a way for himſelf to the poſſeſſion of power and wealth [r].

Armies immenſely expenſive;

BUT though the troops in Peru ſerved without any regular pay, they were raiſed at immenſe expence. Among men accuſtomed to

[r] Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 38. 41.

BOOK VI. 1548.

divide the ſpoils of an opulent country, the deſire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardour of purſuit augmented in proportion to the hope of ſucceſs. Where all were intent on the ſame object, and under the dominion of the ſame paſſion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of ſecuring their attachment. Officers of name and influence, beſides the promiſe of future eſtabliſhments, received in hand large gratuities from the chief with whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pizarro, in order to raiſe a thouſand men, advanced five hundred thouſand peſos [s]. Gaſca expended in levying the troops which he led againſt Pizarro nine hundred thouſand peſos [t]. The diſtribution of property, beſtowed as the reward of ſervices, was ſtill more exorbitant. Cepeda, as the recompence of his perfidy and addreſs, in perſuading the court of royal audience to give the ſanction of its authority to the uſurped juriſdiction of Pizarro, received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of a hundred and fifty thouſand peſos [u]. Hinojoſa, who, by his early defection from Pizarro, and ſurrender of the fleet to Gaſca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a diſtrict of country affording

and immence rewards to individuals.

[s] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 54.

[t] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 10. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. v. c. 7.

[u] Gomara, c. 164.

two

two hundred thouſand peſos of yearly value[w]. While ſuch rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional ſhares were conferred upon thoſe of inferior rank. BOOK VI. 1548.

SUCH a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and new deſires. Veterans, long accuſtomed to hardſhip and toil, acquired of a ſudden a taſte for profuſe and inconſiderate diſſipation, and indulged in all the exceſſes of military licentiouſneſs. The riot of low debauchery occupied ſome; a reliſh for expenſive luxuries ſpread among others[x]. The meaneſt ſoldier in Peru would have thought himſelf degraded by marching on foot; and at a time when the prices of horſes in that country were exorbitant, each inſiſted on being furniſhed with one before he would take the field. But though leſs patient under the fatigue and hardſhips of ſervice, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever; and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to diſplay all their ancient valour. Their profuſion and luxury.

[w] Vega, p. 11. lib. vi. c. 3.

[x] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 3. dec. 8. lib. viii, c. 10.

BOOK VI.

1548. Ferocity with which their contefts were carried on;

TOGETHER with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally diſtinguiſhed. Civil diſcord never raged with a more fell ſpirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the paſſions which uſually envenom conteſts among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerneſs to ſeize the valuable forfeitures expected upon the death of every opponent, ſhut the door againſt mercy. To be wealthy, was of itſelf ſufficient to expoſe a man to accuſation, or to ſubject him to puniſhment. On the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, Pizarro condemned many of the moſt opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carvajal, without ſearching for any pretext to juſtify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of thoſe who ſuffered by the hands of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field[y]; and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

and want of faith,

THE violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its uſual attendants, attachment and fidelity to thoſe with whom they acted. The ties of honour, which ought to be held ſacred among ſoldiers, and the principle of

[y] See NOTE XXVIII.

integrity,

integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spaniſh character as in that of any nation, ſeem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the ſenſe of ſhame, were totally loſt. During their diſſentions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally eſpouſed, betray the aſſociates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroy Nugnez Vela was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound by the duties of their function to have ſupported his authority. The chief adviſers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt were the firſt to forſake him, and ſubmit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gaſca, by the man whom he had ſingled out among his officers to entruſt with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in ſight of the enemy, threw down their arms without ſtriking a blow, and deſerted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Inſtances of ſuch general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in ſocial union, rarely occur in hiſtory. It is only where men are far removed from the ſeat of government, where the reſtraints of law

BOOK VI. 1548.

BOOK VI. 1548.

and order are little felt, where the proſpect of gain is unbounded, and where immenſe wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciouſneſs, the perfidy and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.

Gaſca deviſes employment for his ſoldiers.

On the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity ſeemed to be perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. But two very intereſting objects ſtill remained to occupy the preſident's attention. The one was to find immediately ſuch employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. The other, to beſtow proper gratifications upon thoſe to whoſe loyalty and valour he had been indebted for his ſucceſs. The former of theſe was in ſome meaſure accompliſhed, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to proſecute the conqueſt of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the diſcovery of the vaſt regions bordering on the river De la Plata. The reputation of thoſe leaders, together with the hopes of acquiring wealth, and of riſing to conſequence in ſome unexplored country, alluring many of the moſt indigent and deſperate ſoldiers to follow their ſtandards, drained off no inconſiderable

portion of that mutinous ſpirit which Gaſca dreaded.

1548.

His diviſion of the country among his followers.

THE latter was an affair of greater difficulty, and to be adjuſted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The *repartimientos*, or allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be diſtributed, in conſequence of the death or forfeiture of the former poſſeſſors, exceeded two millions of peſos of yearly rent[z]. Gaſca, when now abſolute maſter of this immenſe property, retained the ſame diſintereſted ſentiments which he had originally profeſſed, and refuſed to reſerve the ſmalleſt portion of it for himſelf. But the number of claimants was great; and whilſt the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own ſervices, and eſtimated the recompence which he thought due to him, the pretenſions of each were ſo extravagant, that it was impoſſible to ſatisfy all. Gaſca liſtened to them one by one, with the moſt patient attention; and that he might have leiſure to weigh the comparative merit of their ſeveral claims with accuracy, he retired, with the Archbiſhop of Lima and a ſingle ſecretary, to a village twelve leagues from Cuzco. There he ſpent ſeveral days in allotting to each a diſtrict of lands and number

[z] Vega, p. 11. lib. vi. c. 4.

of

BOOK VI. 1548. of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their paſt ſervices and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce ſtorm of clamour and rage, which he foreſaw would burſt out on the publication of his decree, notwithſtanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he ſet out for Lima, leaving the inſtrument of partition ſealed up, with orders not to open it for ſome days after his departure.

Aug. 24. The diſcontent it occaſions.

THE indignation excited by publiſhing the decree of partition was not leſs than Gaſca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, ſhame, rage, and all the other paſſions which moſt vehemently agitate the minds of men when both their honour and their intereſt are deeply affected, conſpired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military inſolence. Calumny, threats, and curſes, were poured out openly upon the preſident. He was accuſed of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injuſtice. Among ſoldiers prompt to action, ſuch ſeditious diſcourſe would have been ſoon followed by deeds no leſs violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards ſome diſcontented leaders, expecting them to ſtand forth in redreſs of their wrongs. By ſome vigorous interpoſitions of government, a timely

timely check was given to this mutinous ſpirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the preſent[a]. BOOK VI. 1548.

GASCA, however, perceiving that the flame was ſuppreſſed rather than extinguiſhed, laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to ſooth the malcontents, by beſtowing large gratuities on ſome, by promiſing *repartimientos*, when they fell vacant, to others, and by careſſing and flattering all. But that the public ſecurity might reſt on a foundation more ſtable than their good affection, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen the hands of his ſucceſſors in office, by re-eſtabliſhing the regular adminiſtration of juſtice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and ſimplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue. He iſſued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppreſſion, and to provide for their inſtruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labour. Having now accompliſhed every object of his miſſion, Gaſca, longing to return again to a private ſtation, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, 1549. Re-eſtabliſhes order and government. 1550.

[a] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 9. Gomara, c. 187. Vega, p. 11. lib. vii. c. 1, &c. Fernandez, p. 11. lib. 1. c. 1, &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 17, &c.

BOOK VI.

1550. Feb. 1. and ſets out for Spain.

and ſet out for Spain. As, during the anarchy and turbulence of the four laſt years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue, he carried with him thirteen hundred thouſand peſos of public money, which the œconomy and order of his adminiſtration enabled him to ſave, after paying all the expences of the war.

His reception there.

He was received in his native country with univerſal admiration of his abilities, and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conſpicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train ſo ſimple, that only three thouſand ducats were expended in equipping him[b], he ſet out to oppoſe a formidable rebellion. By his addreſs and talents he ſupplied all thoſe defects, and ſeemed to create inſtruments for executing his deſigns. He acquired ſuch a naval force, as gave him the command of the ſea. He raiſed a body of men able to cope with the veteran bands which gave law to Peru. He vanquiſhed their leader, on whoſe arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy and uſurpation, he eſtabliſhed the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful ſovereign. But the praiſe beſtowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After reſid-

[b] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 18.

ing

ing in a country where wealth preſented allurements which had ſeduced every perſon who had hitherto poſſeſſed power there, he returned from that trying ſtation with integrity not only untainted but unſuſpected. After diſtributing among his countrymen poſſeſſions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the diſpoſal of a ſubject in any age or nation, he himſelf remained in his original ſtate of poverty; and at the very time when he brought ſuch a large recruit to the royal treaſury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a ſmall ſum to diſcharge ſome petty debts which he had contracted during the courſe of his ſervice[c]. Charles was not inſenſible to ſuch diſintereſted merit. Gaſca was received by him with the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of eſteem, and being promoted to the biſhopric of Palencia, he paſſed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, reſpected by his country, honoured by his ſovereign, and beloved by all. 1550.

NOTWITHSTANDING all Gaſca's wiſe regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country where the authority of government had been almoſt forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and miſrule, where there were diſappointed leaders

[c] MS. penes me.

rine

BOOK VI. 1550.

ripe for revolt, and ſeditious ſoldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to raiſe combuſtion. Several ſucceſſive inſurrections deſolated the country for ſome years. But as thoſe, though fierce, were only tranſient ſtorms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not the object of this hiſtory. Theſe commotions in Peru, like every thing of extreme violence either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration, and by carrying off the corrupted humours which had given riſe to the diſorders, they contributed in the end to ſtrengthen the ſociety which at firſt they threatened to deſtroy. During their fierce conteſts, ſeveral of the firſt invaders of Peru, and many of thoſe licentious adventurers whom the fame of their ſucceſs had allured thither, fell by each other's hands. Each of the parties, as they alternately prevailed in the ſtruggle, gradually cleared the country of a number of turbulent ſpirits, by executing, proſcribing, or baniſhing their opponents. Men leſs enterpriſing, leſs deſperate, and more accuſtomed to move in the path of ſober and peaceable induſtry, ſettled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually eſtabliſhed as firmly there as in other Spaniſh colonies.

THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK VII.

AS the conqueſt of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru forms the moſt ſplendid and intereſting period in the hiſtory of America, a view of their political inſtitutions, and a deſcription of their national manners, will exhibit the human ſpecies to the contemplation of intelligent obſervers in a very ſingular ſtage of its progreſs[a].

Mexico and Peru more poliſhed than other parts of America.

WHEN compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be conſidered as poliſhed ſtates. Inſtead of ſmall, independent, hoſtile tribes, ſtruggling for ſubſiſtence amidſt woods and marſhes, ſtran-

[a] See NOTE XXIX.

gers

BOOK VII.

gers to induſtry and arts, unacquainted with ſubordination, and almoſt without the appearance of regular government, we find countries of great extent ſubjected to the dominion of one ſovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wiſdom and foreſight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and ſecurity of the people, the empire of laws in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed, the authority of religion recognized, many of the arts eſſential to life brought to ſome degree of maturity, and the dawn of ſuch as are ornamental beginning to appear.

The inferiority to the nations of the ancient continent.

But if the compariſon be made with the people of the ancient continent, the inferiority of America, in improvement, will be conſpicuous, and neither the Mexicans nor Peruvians will be entitled to rank with thoſe nations which merit the name of civilized. The people of both the great empires in America, like the rude tribes around them, were totally unacquainted with the uſeful metals, and the progreſs which they had made in extending their dominion over the animal creation was inconſiderable. The Mexicans had gone no farther than to tame and rear turkeys, ducks, a ſpecies of ſmall dogs, and rabbits[b].

[b] Herrera, dec. 11. lib. vii. c. 12.

By

By this feeble eſſay of ingenuity, the means of ſubſiſtence were rendered ſomewhat more plentiful and ſecure, than when men depend ſolely on hunting; but they had no idea of attempting to ſubdue the more robuſt animals, or of deriving any aid from their miniſtry in carrying on works of labour. The Peruvians ſeem to have neglected the inferior animals, and had not rendered any of them domeſtic except the duck; but they were more fortunate in taming the Llama, an animal peculiar to their country, of a form which bears ſome reſemblance to a deer, and ſome to a camel, and is of a ſize ſomewhat larger than a ſheep. Under the protection of man, this ſpecies multiplied greatly. Its wool furniſhed the Peruvians with clothing, its fleſh with food. It was even employed as a beaſt of burden, and carried a moderate load with much patience and docility [c]. It was never uſed for draught; and the breed being confined to the mountainous country, its ſervice, if we may judge by incidents which occur in the early Spaniſh writers, was not very extenſive among the Peruvians in their original ſtate. BOOK VII.

In tracing the line by which nations proceed towards civilization, the diſcovery of the uſeful

[c] Vega, p. 1. lib. viii. c. 16. Zarate, lib. i. c. 14.

BOOK VII.

metals, and the acquiſition of dominion over the animal creation, have been marked as ſteps of capital importance in their progreſs. In our continent, long after men had attained both, ſociety continued in that ſtate which is denominated barbarous. Even with all that command over nature which theſe confer, many ages elapſe, before induſtry becomes ſo regular as to render ſubſiſtence ſecure, before the arts which ſupply the wants and furniſh the accommodations of life are brought to any conſiderable degree of perfection, and before any idea is conceived of various inſtitutions requiſite in a well-ordered ſociety. The Mexicans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the uſeful metals, or the aid of domeſtic animals, laboured under diſadvantages which muſt have greatly retarded their progreſs, and in their higheſt ſtate of improvement their power was ſo limited, and their operations ſo feeble, that they can hardly be conſidered as having advanced beyond the infancy of civil life.

View of the inſtitutions and manners of each.

AFTER this general obſervation concerning the moſt ſingular and diſtinguiſhing circumſtance in the ſtate of both the great empires in America, I ſhall endeavour to give ſuch a view of the conſtitution and interior police of each, as may enable us to aſcertain their place in the

political ſcale, to allot them their proper ſtation between the rude tribes in the New World, and the poliſhed ſtates of the ancient, and to determine how far they had riſen above the former, as well as how much they fell below the latter. BOOK VII.

Imperfect information concerning thoſe of Mexico.

MEXICO was firſt ſubjected to the Spaniſh crown. But our acquaintance with its laws and manners is not, from that circumſtance, more complete. What I have remarked concerning the defective and inaccurate information on which we muſt rely with reſpect to the condition and cuſtoms of the ſavage tribes in America, may be applied likewiſe to our knowledge of the Mexican empire. Cortes, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leiſure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural hiſtory with new obſervations. They undertook their expedition in queſt of one object, and ſeemed hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or, if during ſome ſhort interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceaſed, and the ardour of plunder was ſuſpended, the inſtitutions and manners of the people whom they had invaded, drew their attention, the inquiries of illiterate ſoldiers were conducted with ſo little ſagacity and preciſion, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order eſtabliſhed in the Mexican monarchy

BOOK VII.

are ſuperficial, confuſed, and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occaſionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form ſome idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obſcurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the ſuperſtition of thoſe who ſucceeded them. As the memory of paſt events was preſerved among the Mexicans by figures painted on ſkins, on cotton cloth, on a kind of paſteboard, or on the bark of trees, the early miſſionaries, unable to comprehend their meaning, and ſtruck with their uncouth forms, conceived them to be monuments of idolatry which ought to be deſtroyed, in order to facilitate the converſion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict iſſued by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciſcan monk, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, as many records of the ancient Mexican ſtory as could be collected were committed to the flames. In conſequence of this fanatical zeal of the monks who firſt viſited New Spain (which their ſucceſſors ſoon began to lament), whatever knowledge of remote events ſuch rude monuments contained was almoſt entirely loſt, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from ſome fragments of their hiſtorical

hiſtorical paintings that eſcaped the barbarous reſearches of Zumaraga[d]. From the experience of all nations it is manifeſt, that the memory of paſt tranſactions can neither be long preſerved, nor be tranſmitted with any fidelity, by tradition. The Mexican paintings, which are ſuppoſed to have ſerved as annals of their empire, are few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus, amidſt the uncertainty of the former, and the obſcurity of the latter, we muſt glean what intelligence can be collected from the ſcanty materials ſcattered in the Spaniſh writers*.

ACCORD-

[d] Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 7. Torquem. Proem. lib. ii. lib. iii. c. 6. lib. xiv. c. 6.

* In the firſt edition, I obſerved that in conſequence of the deſtruction of the ancient Mexican paintings, occaſioned by the zeal of Zummaraga, whatever knowledge they might have conveyed was *entirely* loſt. Every candid reader muſt have perceived that the expreſſion was inaccurate; as in a few lines afterwards I mention ſome ancient paintings to be ſtill extant. M. Clavigero, not ſatisfied with laying hold of this inaccuracy, which I corrected in the ſubſequent editions, labours to render it more glaring, by the manner in which he quotes the remaining part of the ſentence. He reprehends with great aſperity the account which I gave of the ſcanty materials for writing the ancient hiſtory of Mexico. Vol. I. Account of writers, p. xxvi. Vol. II. 380. My words, however, are almoſt the ſame with thoſe of Torquemada, who ſeems to have been better acquainted with the ancient monuments of the Mexicans than any Spaniſh author

BOOK VII.

Origin of the Mexican monarchy.

ACCORDING to the account of the Mexicans themſelves their empire was not of long duration. Their country, as they relate, was originally poſſeſſed, rather than peopled, by ſmall independent tribes, whoſe mode of life and

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whoſe works I have ſeen. Lib. xiv. c. 6. M. Clavigero himſelf gives a deſcription of the deſtruction of ancient paintings in almoſt the ſame terms I have uſed; and mentions, as an additional reaſon of there being ſo ſmall a number of ancient paintings known to the Spaniards, that the natives have become ſo ſolicitous to preſerve and conceal them, that it is "difficult, if not impoſſible, to make them "part with one of them." Vol. I. 407. II. 194. No point can be more aſcertained than that few of the Mexican hiſtorical paintings have been preſerved. Though ſeveral Spaniards have carried on inquiries into the antiquities of the Mexican empire, no engravings from Mexican paintings have been communicated to the public, except thoſe by Purchas, Gemelli Carreri, and Lorenzana. It affords me ſome ſatisfaction, that in the courſe of my reſearches, I have diſcovered two collections of Mexican paintings which were unknown to former inquirers. The cut which I publiſhed is an exact copy of the original, and gives no high idea of the progreſs which the Mexicans had made in the art of painting. I cannot conjecture what could induce M. Clavigero to expreſs ſome diſſatisfaction with me for having publiſhed it without the ſame colours it has in the original painting, p. xxix. He might have recollected, that neither Purchas, nor Gemelli Carreri, nor Lorenzana, thought it neceſſary to colour the prints which they have publiſhed, and they have never been cenſured on that account. He may reſt aſſured, that though the colours in the paintings in the

and manners reſembled thoſe of the rudeſt ſavages which we have deſcribed. But about a period correſponding to the beginning of the tenth century in the Chriſtian æra, ſeveral tribes moved in ſucceſſive migrations from unknown regions towards the north and north-weſt, and ſettled in different provinces of *Anahuac*, the ancient name of New Spain. Theſe, more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of ſocial life. At length, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more poliſhed than any of the former, advanced from the border of the Californian gulf, and took poſſeſſion of the plains adjacent to the great lake near the centre of the country. After reſiding there about fifty

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the Imperial Library are remarkably bright, they are laid on without art, and without "any of that regard to light "and ſhade, or the rules of perſpective," which M. Clavigero requires. Vol. II. 378. If the public expreſs any deſire to have the ſeven paintings ſtill in my poſſeſſion engraved, I am ready to communicate them. The print publiſhed by Gemelli Carreri, of the rout of the ancient Mexicans when they travelled towards the lake on which they built the capital of their empire, Churchill, Vol. IV. p. 481. is the moſt finiſhed monument of art brought from the New World, and yet a very ſlight inſpection of it will ſatisfy every one, that the annals of a nation conveyed in this manner muſt be very meagre and imperfect.

BOOK VII. years they founded a town, ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Mexico*, which from humble beginnings ſoon grew to be the moſt conſiderable city in the New World. The Mexicans, long after they were eſtabliſhed in their new poſſeſſions, continued, like other martial tribes in America, unacquainted with regal dominion, and were governed in peace, and conducted in war, by ſuch as were entitled to pre-eminence by their wiſdom or their valour. But among them, as in other ſtates whoſe power and territories become extenſive, the ſupreme authority centered at laſt in a ſingle perſon; and when the Spaniards under Cortes invaded the country, Montezuma was the ninth monarch in order who had ſwayed the Mexican ſceptre, not by hereditary right, but by election.

Very recent.

SUCH is the traditional tale of the Mexicans concerning the progreſs of their own empire. According to this, its duration was very ſhort. From the firſt migration of their parent tribe, they can reckon little more than three hundred years. From the eſtabliſhment of monarchical government, not above a hundred and thirty years, according to one account[c], or a hundred

[c] Acoſt. Hiſt. lib. vii. c. 8, &c.

and

and ninety-ſeven, according to another computation[f], had elapſed. If, on one hand, we ſuppoſe the Mexican ſtate to have been of higher antiquity, and to have ſubſiſted during ſuch a length of time as the Spaniſh accounts of its civilization would naturally lead us to conclude, it is difficult to conceive how, among a people who poſſeſſed the art of recording events by pictures, and who conſidered it as an eſſential part of their national education, to teach their children to repeat the hiſtorical ſongs which celebrated the exploits of their anceſtors[g], the knowledge of paſt tranſactions ſhould be ſo ſlender and limited. If, on the other hand, we adopt their own ſyſtem with reſpect to the antiquities of their nation, it is no leſs difficult to account either for that improved ſtate of ſociety, or for the extenſive dominion to which their empire had attained, when firſt viſited by the Spaniards. The infancy of nations is ſo long, and, even when every circumſtance is favourable to their progreſs, they advance ſo ſlowly towards any maturity of ſtrength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans ſeems to be a ſtrong preſumption of ſome exaggeration, in the

BOOK VII.

[f] Purchas Pilgr. iii. p. 1068, &c.
[g] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18.

ſplendid

BOOK VII. ſplendid deſcriptions which have been given of their government and manners.

Facts which prove their progreſs in civilization.

But it is not by theory or conjectures that hiſtory decides with regard to the ſtate or character of nations. It produces facts as the foundation of every judgment which it ventures to pronounce. In collecting thoſe which muſt regulate our opinion in the preſent inquiry, ſome occur that ſuggeſt an idea of conſiderable progreſs in civilization in the Mexican empire, and others which ſeem to indicate that it had advanced but little beyond the ſavage tribes around it. Both ſhall be exhibited to the view of the reader, that, from comparing them, he may determine on which ſide the evidence preponderates.

The right of property fully eſtabliſhed.

In the Mexican empire, the right of private property was perfectly underſtood, and eſtabliſhed in its full extent. Among ſeveral ſavage tribes, we have ſeen, that the idea of a title to the ſeparate and excluſive poſſeſſion of any object was hardly known; and that among all it was extremely limited and ill-defined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and induſtry had made ſome progreſs, the diſtinction between property in land and property in goods had taken

taken place. Both might be transferred from one perſon to another by ſale or barter; both might deſcend by inheritance. Every perſon who could be denominated a freeman had property in land. This, however, they held by various tenures. Some poſſeſſed it in full right, and it deſcended to their heirs. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they loſt poſſeſſion of the former. Both theſe modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the higheſt claſs. The tenure, by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every diſtrict a certain quantity of land was meaſured out in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was depoſited in a common ſtorehouſe, and divided among them according to their reſpective exigencies. The members of the *Calpullee*, or aſſociations, could not alienate their ſhare of the common eſtate; it was an indiviſible permanent property, deſtined for the ſupport of their families[h]. In conſequence of this diſtribution of the territory of the ſtate, every man had an

BOOK VII.

[h] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. xiv. c. 7. Corita, MS.

intereſt

BOOK VII. intereſt in its welfare, and the happineſs of the individual was connected with the public ſecurity.

The number and greatneſs of their cities.

ANOTHER ſtriking circumſtance, which diſtinguiſhes the Mexican empire from thoſe nations in America we have already deſcribed, is the number and greatneſs of its cities. While ſociety continues in a rude ſtate, the wants of men are ſo few, and they ſtand ſo little in need of mutual aſſiſtance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their induſtry at the ſame time is ſo imperfect, that it cannot ſecure ſubſiſtence for any conſiderable number of families ſettled in one ſpot. They live diſperſed, at this period, from choice as well as from neceſſity, or at the utmoſt aſſemble in ſmall hamlets on the banks of the river which ſupplies them with food, or on the border of ſome plain left open by nature, or cleared by their own labour. The Spaniards, accuſtomed to this mode of habitation among all the ſavage tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, were aſtoniſhed, on entering New Spain, to find the natives reſiding in towns of ſuch extent as reſembled thoſe of Europe. In the firſt fervour of their admiration, they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the ſecond or third ſize, to the cities of greateſt note in their

own

own country. When, afterwards, they viſited in ſucceſſion Tlaſcala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezeuco and Mexico itſelf, their amazement increaſed ſo much, that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populouſneſs bordering on what is incredible. Even when there is leiſure for obſervation, and no intereſt that leads to deceive, conjectural eſtimates of the number of people in cities are extremely looſe, and uſually much exaggerated. It is not ſurpriſing, then, that Cortes and his companions, little accuſtomed to ſuch computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own diſcoveries and conqueſts, ſhould have been betrayed into this common error, and have raiſed their deſcriptions conſiderably above truth. For this reaſon, ſome conſiderable abatement ought to be made from their calculations of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities, and we may fix the ſtandard of their population much lower than they have done; but ſtill they will appear to be cities of ſuch conſequence, as are not to be found but among people who have made ſome conſiderable progreſs in the arts of ſocial life [i]. From their accounts, we can hardly ſuppoſe Mexico, the

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[i] See NOTE XXX.

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capital of the empire, to have contained fewer than ſixty thouſand inhabitants.

The ſeparation of profeſſions.

THE ſeparation of profeſſions among the Mexicans is a ſymptom of improvement no leſs remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of ſociety, are ſo few and ſo ſimple, that each man is ſufficiently maſter of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited deſires. The ſavage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more ſkilful than his own. Time muſt have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity, before the productions of art became ſo complicated in their ſtructure, or ſo curious in their fabric, that a particular courſe of education was requiſite towards forming the artificer to expertneſs in contrivance and workmanſhip. In proportion as refinement ſpreads, the diſtinction of profeſſions increaſes, and they branch out into more numerous and minute ſubdiviſions. Among the Mexicans, this ſeparation of the arts neceſſary in life had taken place to a conſiderable extent. The functions of the maſon, the weaver, the goldſmith, the painter, and of ſeveral other crafts, were carried on by different perſons. Each was regularly inſtructed in his calling. To it alone

alone his induſtry was confined; and, by assiduous application to one object, together with the perſevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artizans attained to a degree of neatneſs and perfection in work, far beyond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the ſtated markets held in the cities, not only were their mutual wants ſupplied [k], in ſuch orderly intercourſe as characterizes an improved ſtate of ſociety, but their induſtry was daily rendered perſevering and inventive. BOOK VII.

The diſtinction of ranks eſtabliſhed in the Mexican empire is the next circumſtance that merits attention. In ſurveying the ſavage tribes of America, we obſerved, that conſcious neſs of equality, and impatience of ſubordination, are ſentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During peace, the authority of a ſuperior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition reſulting from the inequality of it is unknown. Birth or titles confer no pre- The diſtinction of ranks

[k] Cortes Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 239, &c. Gom. Cron. c. 79. Torquem. lib. xiii. c. 34. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 15, &c.

eminence;

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eminence; it is only by perſonal merit and accompliſhments that diſtinction can be acquired. The form of ſociety was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people was in a moſt humiliating ſtate. A conſiderable number, known by the name of *Mayeques*, nearly reſembling in condition thoſe peaſants who, under various denominations, were conſidered, during the prevalence of the feudal ſyſtem, as inſtruments of labour attached to the ſoil. The *Mayeques* could not change their place of reſidence without permiſſion of the ſuperior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were ſettled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform ſeveral kinds of ſervile work[l]. Others were reduced to the loweſt form of ſubjection, that of domeſtic ſervitude, and felt the utmoſt rigour of that wretched ſtate. Their condition was held to be ſo vile, and their lives deemed to be of ſo little value, that a perſon who killed one of theſe ſlaves was not ſubjected to any puniſhment[m]. Even thoſe conſidered as freemen were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior ſpecies. The nobles, poſſeſſed of ample territories, were divided

[l] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Corita, MS.
[m] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 7.

into

into various claſſes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belonged. Some of theſe titles, like their lands, deſcended from father to ſon in perpetual ſucceſſion. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of perſonal diſtinction[n]. The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extenſive power, and ſupreme dignity. Thus the diſtinction of ranks was completely eſtabliſhed, in a line of regular ſubordination, reaching from the higheſt to the loweſt member of the community. Each of theſe knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dreſs of the ſame faſhion, or to dwell in houſes of a form ſimilar to thoſe of the nobles, accoſted them with the utmoſt ſubmiſſive reverence. In the preſence of their ſovereign, they durſt not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face[o]. The nobles themſelves, when admitted to an audience of their ſovereign, entered barefooted, in mean garments, and, as his ſlaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This reſpect, due from inferiors to thoſe above them in rank, was preſcribed with ſuch ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with the language, and influenced its genius and

BOOK VII.

[n] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Corita, MS.
[o] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14.

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idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expreſſions of reverence and courteſy. The ſtile and appellations, uſed in the intercourſe between equals, would have been ſo unbecoming in the mouth of one in a lower ſphere, when he accoſted a perſon in higher rank, as to be deemed an inſult [p]. It is only in ſocieties, which time and the inſtitution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find ſuch an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and ſuch nice attention paid to their various rights.

Their political conſtitution.

THE ſpirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarized and bended to ſubordination, was prepared for ſubmitting to monarchical government. But the deſcriptions of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overturned them, are ſo inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their conſtitution with any preciſion. Sometimes they repreſent the monarchs of Mexico as abſolute, deciding according to their pleaſure, with reſpect to every operation of the ſtate. On other occaſions, we diſcover the traces of eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and laws, framed in order to circumſcribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which ſeem to be

[p] See NOTE XXXI.

oppoſed

oppoſed as barriers againſt its encroachments. This appearance of inconſiſtency has ariſen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aſpiring ambition ſubverted the original ſyſtem of government, and introduced a pure deſpotiſm. He diſregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held moſt ſacred, and reduced his ſubjects of every order to the level of ſlaves [q]. The chiefs, or nobles of the firſt rank, ſubmitted to the yoke with ſuch reluctance, that, from impatience to ſhake it off, and hope of recovering their rights, many of them courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power againſt their domeſtic oppreſſor [r]. It is not then under the dominion of Montezuma, but under the government of his predeceſſors, that we can diſcover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it ſeems to have ſubſiſted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be diſtinguiſhed by the name of nobility, formed the chief and moſt reſpectable order in the ſtate. They were of various ranks, as has been already obſerved, and their

[q] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14. Torquem. lib. ii. c. 69.

[r] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 10, 11. Torquem. lib. iv. c. 49.

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honours were acquired and tranſmitted in different manners. Their number ſeems to have been great. According to an author accuſtomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of this order, each of whom had in his territories about an hundred thouſand people, and ſubordinate to theſe, there were about three thouſand nobles of a lower claſs [s]. The territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were hardly inferior in extent to thoſe of the Mexican monarch [t]. Each of theſe poſſeſſed complete territorial juriſdiction, and levied taxes from their own vaſſals. But all followed the ſtandard of Mexico in war, ſerving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and moſt of them paid tribute to its monarch as their ſuperior lord.

In tracing thoſe great lines of the Mexican conſtitution, an image of feudal policy, in its moſt rigid form, riſes to view, and we diſcern its three diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, a nobility poſſeſſing almoſt independent authority, a people depreſſed into the loweſt ſtate of ſubjection, and a King entruſted with the executive power of

[s] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 12.
[t] Torquem. lib. ii. c. 57. Corita, MS.

the

the ſtate. Its ſpirit and principles ſeem to have operated in the New World in the ſame manner as in the ancient. The juriſdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the ſhadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to exceſs of their own rights, they guarded with the moſt vigilant anxiety againſt the encroachments of their ſovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire, it was provided that the King ſhould not determine concerning any point of general importance without the approbation of a council compoſed of the prime nobility [u]. Unleſs he obtained their conſent, he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he diſpoſe of the moſt conſiderable branch of the public revenue at pleaſure; it was appropriated to certain purpoſes from which it could not be diverted by the regal authority alone [w]. In order to ſecure full effect to thoſe conſtitutional reſtraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crown to deſcend by inheritance, but diſpoſed of it by election. The right of election ſeems to have been originally veſted in the whole body of nobility, but was afterwards committed to ſix electors,

BOOK VII.

[u] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 19. lib. iv. c. 16. Corita MS.
[w] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17.

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of whom the Chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were always two. From reſpect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon ſome perſon ſprung from it. But as the activity and valour of their prince were of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a ſtrict adherence to the order of birth, collaterals of mature age or of diſtinguiſhed merit were often preferred to thoſe who were nearer the throne in direct deſcent [x]. To this maxim in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for ſuch a ſucceſſion of able and warlike princes, as raiſed their empire in a ſhort period to that extraordinary height of power which it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

Power and ſplendour of their monarchs.

WHILE the juriſdiction of the Mexican monarch continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exerciſed with little oſtentation. But as their authority became more extenſive, the ſplendour of their government augmented. It was in this laſt ſtate that the Spaniards beheld it; and ſtruck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they deſcribe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants, the order, the ſilence,

[x] Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 24. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 13. Corita MS.

and

and the reverence with which they ſerved him; the extent of his royal manſion, the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the oſtentation with which his grandeur was diſplayed, whenever he permitted his ſubjects to behold him, ſeem to reſemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Aſia, rather than the ſimplicity of the infant ſtates in the New World.

Order of their government.

But it was not in the mere parade of royalty that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power; they manifeſted it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal adminiſtration and police of their dominions. Complete juriſdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vaſſals, was veſted in the crown. Judges were appointed for each department, and if we may rely on the account which the Spaniſh writers give of the maxims and laws upon which they founded their deciſions with reſpect to the diſtribution of property and the puniſhment of crimes, juſtice was adminiſtered in the Mexican empire with a degree of order and equity reſembling what takes place in ſocieties highly civilized.

Proviſion for the ſupport of it.

Their attention in providing for the ſupport of government was not leſs ſagacious.

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Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquiſitions of induſtry, and upon commodities of every kind expoſed to ſale in the public markets. Theſe duties were conſiderable, but not arbitrary or unequal. They were impoſed according to eſtabliſhed rules, and each knew what ſhare of the common burden he had to bear. As the uſe of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind, and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every ſpecies of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art, were collected in the public ſtore-houſes. From thoſe the Emperor ſupplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during war, with food, with clothes, and ornaments. People of inferior condition, neither poſſeſſing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various ſervices. By their ſtated labour the crown-lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houſes belonging to the Emperor were built and kept in repair [y].

Their police.

THE improved ſtate of government among the Mexicans is conſpicuous, not only in points eſſential to the being of a well-ordered ſociety, but in ſeveral regulations of inferior conſe-

[y] Herrera. dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16, 17. See NOTE XXXII.

quence

quence with reſpect to police. The inſtitution which I have already mentioned, of public couriers, ſtationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The ſtructure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and cauſeways of great length, which ſerved as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water, with no leſs ingenuity than labour, ſeems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The ſame obſervation may be applied to the ſtructure of the aqueducts, or conduits, by which they conveyed a ſtream of freſh water from a conſiderable diſtance, into the city, along one of the cauſeways [z]. The appointment of a number of perſons to clean the ſtreets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrole as watchmen during the night [a], diſcovers a degree of attention which even poliſhed nations are late in acquiring.

Their arts.

THE progreſs of the Mexicans in various arts, is conſidered as the moſt deciſive proof of their ſuperior refinement. Cortes, and the

[z] See NOTE XXXIII.

[a] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 4. Torribio MS.

early

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early Spaniſh authors, deſcribe this with rapture, and maintain, that the moſt celebrated European artiſts could not ſurpaſs or even equal them in ingenuity and neatneſs of workmanſhip. They repreſented men, animals, and other objects, by ſuch a diſpoſition of various coloured feathers, as is ſaid to have produced all the effects of light and ſhade, and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and ſilver have been deſcribed to be of a fabric no leſs curious. But in forming any idea, from general deſcriptions, concerning the ſtate of arts among nations imperfectly poliſhed, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people whoſe advances in improvement are nearly the ſame with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conſcious of our own ſuperiority, we ſurvey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are aſtoniſhed at works executed by them under ſuch manifeſt diſadvantages, and, in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to repreſent them as productions more finiſhed than they really are. To the influence of this illuſion, without ſuppoſing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of ſome Spaniſh authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

It is not from thoſe deſcriptions, but from conſidering ſuch ſpecimens of their arts as are ſtill preſerved, that we muſt decide concerning their degree of merit. As the ſhip in which Cortes ſent to Charles V. the moſt curious productions of the Mexican artiſans, which were collected by the Spaniards when they firſt pillaged the empire, was taken by a French corſair [b], the remains of their ingenuity are leſs numerous than thoſe of the Peruvians. Whether any of their works with feathers, in imitation of painting, be ſtill extant in Spain, I have not learned; but many of their ornaments in gold and ſilver, as well as various utenſils employed in common life, are depoſited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial productions, lately opened by the King of Spain; and I am informed by perſons on whoſe judgment and taſte I can rely, that theſe boaſted efforts of their art are uncouth repreſentations of common objects, or very coarſe images of the human and ſome other forms, deſtitute of grace and propriety [c]. The juſtneſs of theſe obſervations is confirmed by inſpecting the wooden prints and copper-plates of their paintings, which have been publiſhed by va-

[b] Relac. de Cort. Ramuſ. iii. 294. F.

[c] See NOTE XXXIV.

rious

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rious authors. In them every figure of men, of quadrupeds, or birds, as well as every repreſentation of inanimated nature, is extremely rude and awkward*. The hardeſt Egyptian ſtyle, ſtiff

* As a ſpecimen of the ſpirit and ſtyle in which M. Clavigero makes his ſtrictures upon my Hiſtory of America, I ſhall publiſh his remarks upon this paſſage. "Thus far "Robertſon; to whom we anſwer, firſt, That there is no "reaſon to believe that thoſe rude works were really "Mexican; ſecondly, That neither do we know whether "thoſe perſons in whoſe judgment he confides, may be per-"ſons fit to merit our faith, becauſe we have obſerved that "Robertſon truſts frequently to the teſtimony of Gage, "Correal, Ibagnez, and other ſuch authors, who are en-"tirely undeſerving of credit; thirdly, It is more probable "that the arms of copper, believed by thoſe intelligent "judges to be certainly Oriental, are really Mexican." Vol. II. 391.—When an author, not entirely deſtitute of integrity or diſcernment, and who has ſome ſolicitude about his own character, aſſerts that he received his information concerning any particular point from perſons "on whoſe judgment and taſte he can rely;" a very ſlender degree of candour, one ſhould think, might induce the reader to believe that he does not endeavour to impoſe upon the public by an appeal to teſtimony altogether unworthy of credit. My information concerning the Mexican works of art depoſited in the King of Spain's cabinet, was received from the late Lord Grantham, ambaſſador extraordinary from the court of London to that of Madrid, and from Mr. Archdeacon Waddilove, chaplain to the embaſſy; and it was upon their authority that I pronounced the coat of armour, mentioned in the note, to be of Oriental fabric. As they were both at Madrid in their public character when the firſt edition of the Hiſtory of America was publiſhed, I thought it

ſtiff and imperfect as it was, is more elegant. The ſcrawls of children delineate objects almoſt as accurately.

But however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different ſtation belongs to them, when conſidered as the records of their country, as hiſtorical monuments of its policy and tranſ-

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it improper at that time to mention their names. Did their deciſion concerning a matter of taſte, or their teſtimony concerning a point of fact, ſtand in need of confirmation, I might produce the evidence of an intelligent traveller, who, in deſcribing the royal cabinet of Madrid, takes notice that it contains "ſpecimens of Mexican and Peruvian utenſils, vaſes, &c. in earthen-ware, wretched both in taſte and execution." Dillon's Travels through Spain, p. 77. As Gage compoſed his *Survey of New Spain* with all the zeal and acrimony of a new convert, I have paid little regard to his teſtimony with reſpect to points relating to religion. But as he reſided in ſeveral provinces in New Spain, which travellers ſeldom viſit, and as he ſeems to have obſerved their manners and laws with an intelligent eye, I have availed myſelf of his information with reſpect to matters where religious opinion could have little influence. Correal I have ſeldom quoted, and never reſted upon his evidence alone. The ſtation in which Ibagnez was employed in America, as well as the credit given to his veracity by printing his Regno Jeſuitico among the large collection of documents publiſhed (as I believe by authority) at Madrid, A.D. 1767, juſtifies me for appealing to his authority.

actions;

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actions; and they become curious as well as intereſting objects of attention. The nobleſt and moſt beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boaſt, is that of writing. But the firſt eſſays of this art, which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of the ſpecies, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection ſlowly, and by a gradual progreſſion. When the warrior, eager for fame, wiſhed to tranſmit ſome knowledge of his exploits to ſucceeding ages; when the gratitude of a people to their ſovereign prompted them to hand down an account of his beneficent deeds to poſterity; the firſt method of accompliſhing this, which ſeems to have occurred to them, was to delineate, in the beſt manner they could, figures repreſenting the action of which they were ſolicitous to preſerve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called *picture-writing*[e], we find traces among ſome of the moſt ſavage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field, he ſtrips a tree of its bark, and with red paint ſcratches upon it ſome uncouth figures which repreſent the order of his march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the ſcalps and captives which he brought home. To

[e] Divine Legat. of Moſes, iii. 73.

thoſe

thoſe ſimple annals he truſts for renown, and ſoothes himſelf with hope that by their means he ſhall receive praiſe from the warriors of future times [f]. BOOK VII.

COMPARED with thoſe awkward eſſays of their ſavage countrymen, the paintings of the Mexicans may be conſidered as works of compoſition and deſign. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording tranſactions, than that of delineating the objects which they wiſhed to repreſent. But they could exhibit a more complex ſeries of events in progreſſive order, and deſcribe, by a proper diſpoſition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his acceſſion to his death; the progreſs of an infant's education from its birth until it attain to the years of maturity; the different recompences and marks of diſtinction conferred upon warriors, in proportion to the exploits which they had performed. Some ſingular ſpecimens of this picture-writing have been preſerved, which are juſtly conſidered as the moſt curious monuments of art brought from the New World. The moſt valuable of theſe was publiſhed by Purchas in ſixty-ſix plates. It is divided into three parts.

[f] Sir W. Johnſon Philoſ. Tranſact. vol. lxiii. p. 143. Mem. de la Hontan. ii. 191. Lafitau Mœurs de Sauv. ii. 43.

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The firſt contains the hiſtory of the Mexican empire under its ten monarchs. The ſecond is a tribute-roll, repreſenting what each conquered town paid into the royal treaſury. The third is a code of their inſtitutions, domeſtic, political, and military. Another ſpecimen of Mexican painting has been publiſhed in thirty-two plates, by the preſent Archbiſhop of Toledo. To both are annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to repreſent, which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. The ſtyle of painting in all theſe is the ſame. They repreſent *things*, not *words*. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the underſtanding. They may, therefore, be conſidered as the earlieſt and moſt imperfect eſſay of men in their progreſs towards diſcovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording tranſactions muſt have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was, from its nature, a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any ſociety, its annals muſt have ſwelled to an enormous bulk. Beſides this, no objects could be delineated but thoſe of ſenſe; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form, and as long as picture-writing could not convey an idea of theſe, it muſt have been a very imperfect art. The neceſſity of improving

it muſt have rouſed and ſharpened invention, and the human mind holding the ſame courſe in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the ſame ſucceſſive ſteps, firſt, from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic; next, to the allegorical ſymbol; then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was diſcovered, capable of expreſſing all the various combinations of ſound employed in ſpeech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we, accordingly, perceive, that this progreſs was begun among them. Upon an attentive inſpection of the plates, which I have mentioned, we may obſerve ſome approach to the plain or ſimple hieroglyphic, where ſome principal part or circumſtance in the ſubject is made to ſtand for the whole. In the annals of their kings, publiſhed by Purchas, the towns conquered by each are uniformly repreſented in the ſame manner by a rude delineation of a houſe; but in order to point out the particular towns which ſubmitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, ſometimes natural objects, and ſometimes artificial figures, are employed. In the tribute roll publiſhed by the Archbiſhop of Toledo, the houſe, which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to repreſent it. The Mexicans ſeem even to have made ſome advances beyond this,

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towards the uſe of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphic. In order to deſcribe a monarch, who had enlarged his dominions by force of arms, they painted a target ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and thoſe towns which he ſubdued. But it is only in one inſtance, the notation of numbers, that we diſcern any attempt to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. The Mexican painters had invented artificial marks, or *ſigns of convention*, for this purpoſe. By means of theſe, they computed the years of their kings' reigns, as well as the amount of tribute to be paid into the royal treaſury. The figure of a circle repreſented unit, and in ſmall numbers, the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expreſſed by a peculiar mark, and they had ſuch as denoted all integral numbers, from twenty to eight thouſand. The ſhort duration of their empire prevented the Mexicans from advancing farther in that long courſe which conducts men from the labour of delineating real objects, to the ſimplicity and eaſe of alphabetic writing. Their records, notwithſtanding ſome dawn of ſuch ideas as might have led to a more perfect ſtyle, can be conſidered as little more than a ſpecies of picture-writing, ſo far improved as to mark their ſuperiority over the ſavage tribes of America; but ſtill ſo defective, as to

prove that they had not proceeded far beyond the firſt ſtage in that progreſs which muſt be completed before any people can be ranked among poliſhed nations [g].

Their mode of computing time.

THEIR mode of computing time may be conſidered as a more deciſive evidence of their progreſs in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, each conſiſting of twenty days, amounting in all to three hundred and ſixty. But as they obſerved that the courſe of the ſun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. Theſe, which were properly intercalary days, they termed *ſupernumerary* or *waſte*; and as they did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no ſacred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to feſtivity and paſtime [h]. This near approach to philoſophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had beſtowed ſome attention upon inquiries and ſpeculations, to which men in a very rude ſtate never turn their thoughts *.

SUCH

[g] See NOTE XXXV. [h] Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 2.

* The Mexican mode of computing time, and every other particular relating to their chronology, have been conſiderably elucidated by M. Clavigero, Vol. I. 288; Vol. II. 225, &c. The obſervations and theories of the

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Such are the moſt ſtriking particulars in the manners and policy of the Mexicans, which exhibit them to view as a people conſiderably refined. But from other circumſtances, one is apt to ſuſpect that their character, and many of their inſtitutions, did not differ greatly from thoſe of the other inhabitants of America.

Facts indicating a ſmall progreſs in civilization.

Like the rude tribes around them, the Mexicans were inceſſantly engaged in war, and the motives which prompted them to hoſtility ſeem to have been the ſame. They fought, in order to gratify their vengeance, by ſhedding the blood of their enemies. In battle they were chiefly intent on taking priſoners, and it was by the number of theſe that they eſtimated the glory of victory. No captive was ever ranſomed or ſpared. All were ſacrificed without mercy, and their fleſh devoured with the ſame barbarous joy as among the fierceſt ſavages. On ſome occaſions it aroſe to even wilder exceſſes. Their principal warriors covered themſelves with the ſkins of the unhappy victims, and danced about

Their wars continual and ferocious.

Mexicans concerning thoſe ſubjects diſcover a greater progreſs in ſpeculative ſcience than we find among any people in the New World.

the

the ſtreets, boaſting of their own valour, and exulting over their enemies[i]. Even in their civil inſtitutions we diſcover traces of that barbarous diſpoſition which their ſyſtem of war inſpired. The four chief counſellors of the empire were diſtinguiſhed by titles, which could have been aſſumed only by a people who delighted in blood[k]. This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain. The Tlaſcalans, the people of Mechoacan, and other ſtates at enmity with the Mexicans, delighted equally in war, and treated their priſoners with the ſame cruelty. In proportion as mankind combine in ſocial union, and live under the influence of equal laws and regular policy, their manners ſoften, ſentiments of humanity ariſe, and the rights of the ſpecies come to be underſtood. The fierceneſs of war abates, and even while engaged in hoſtility, men remember what they owe one to another. The ſavage fights to deſtroy, the citizen to conquer. The former neither pities nor ſpares, the latter has acquired ſenſibility which tempers his rage. To this ſenſibility the Mexicans ſeem to have been perfect ſtrangers, and among them war was carried on with ſo much of its original barbarity, that we cannot but ſuſpect

[i] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15. Gom. Cron. c. 217.

[k] See NOTE XXXVI.

BOOK VII. their degree of civilization to have been very imperfect.

Their funeral rites.

THEIR funeral rites were not leſs bloody than thoſe of the moſt ſavage tribes. On the death of any diſtinguiſhed perſonage, eſpecially of the Emperor, a certain number of his attendants were choſen to accompany him to the other world; and thoſe unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the ſame tomb [1].

Their agriculture imperfect.

THOUGH their agriculture was more extenſive than that of the roving tribes who truſted chiefly to their bow for food, it ſeems not to have ſupplied them with ſuch ſubſiſtence as men require when engaged in efforts of active induſtry. The Spaniards appear not to have been ſtruck with any ſuperiority of the Mexicans over the other people of America in bodily vigour. Both, according to their obſervation, were of ſuch a feeble frame as to be unable to endure fatigue, and the ſtrength of one Spaniard exceeded that of ſeveral Indians. This they imputed to their ſcanty diet, on poor fare, ſufficient to preſerve life, but not to give firmneſs to their conſtitution. Such a remark could hardly have been made with reſpect to

[1] Herrera, dec. 3, lib. ii. c. 18. Gom. Cron. c. 202.

any

any people furniſhed plentifully with the neceſſaries of life. The difficulty which Cortes found in procuring ſubſiſtence for his ſmall body of ſoldiers, who were often conſtrained to live on the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, ſeems to confirm the remark of the Spaniſh writers, and gives no high idea of the ſtate of cultivation in the Mexican empire [m]. BOOK VII.

A PRACTICE that was univerſal in New Spain appears to favour this opinion. The Mexican women gave ſuck to their children for ſeveral years, and during that time they did not cohabit with their huſbands [n]. This precaution againſt a burdenſome increaſe of progeny, though neceſſary, as I have already obſerved, among ſavages, who, from the hardſhips of their condition, and the precarioufneſs of their ſubſiſtence, find it impoſſible to rear a numerous family, can hardly be ſuppoſed to have continued among a people who lived at eaſe and in abundance. A further proof of this.

THE vaſt extent of the Mexican empire, which has been conſidered, and with juſtice, as the moſt deciſive proof of a conſiderable progreſs in regular government and police, is Doubts concerning the extent of the empire.

[m] Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 306. A. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 16.

[n] Gom. Cron. c. 208. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16.

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one of thoſe facts in the hiſtory of the New World which ſeems to have been admitted without due examination or ſufficient evidence. The Spaniſh hiſtorians, in order to magnify the valour of their countrymen, are accuſtomed to repreſent the dominion of Montezuma as ſtretching over all the provinces of New Spain from the Northern to the Southern Ocean. But a great part of the mountainous country was poſſeſſed by the *Otomies*, a fierce uncivilized people, who ſeem to have been the reſidue of the original inhabitants. The provinces towards the north and weſt of Mexico were occupied by the *Chichemecas*, and other tribes of hunters. None of theſe recognized the Mexican monarch as their ſuperior. Even in the interior and more level country, there were ſeveral cities and provinces which had never ſubmitted to the Mexican yoke. Tlaſcala, though only twenty-one leagues from the capital of the empire, was an independent and hoſtile republic. Cholula, though ſtill nearer, had been ſubjected only a ſhort time before the arrival of the Spaniards. Tepeaca, at the diſtance of thirty leagues from Mexico, ſeems to have been a ſeparate ſtate, governed by its own laws[o]. Mechoacan, the frontier of which extended within forty leagues of Mexico,

[o] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 15. 21. B. Diaz. c. 130.

was

was a powerful kingdom, remarkable for its implacable enmity to the Mexican name [p]. By theſe hoſtile powers the Mexican empire was circumſcribed on every quarter, and the high ideas which we are apt to form of it from the deſcription of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, ſhould be conſiderably moderated. BOOK VII.

Little intercourſe among its ſeveral provinces.

In conſequence of this independence of ſeveral ſtates in New Spain upon the Mexican empire, there was not any conſiderable intercourſe between its various provinces. Even in the interior country not far diſtant from the capital, there ſeem to have been no roads to facilitate the communication of one diſtrict with another; and when the Spaniards firſt attempted to penetrate into its ſeveral provinces, they had to open their way through foreſts and marſhes [q]. Cortes, in his adventurous march from Mexico to Honduras in 1525, met with obſtructions, and endured hardſhips little inferior to thoſe with which he muſt have ſtruggled in the moſt uncivilized regions of America. In ſome places he could hardly force a paſſage through impervious woods, and plains overflowed with water. In others he found ſo little cultivation, that his

[p] Hearera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 10.
[q] B. Diaz. c. 166. 176.

troops

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troops were frequently in danger of perishing by famine. Such facts correspond ill with the pompous description which the Spanish writers give of Mexican police and industry, and convey an idea of a country nearly similar to that possessed by the Indian tribes in North America. Here and there a treading or a war path, as they are called in North America, led from one settlement to another [r], but generally there appeared no sign of any established communication, few marks of industry, and fewer monuments of art.

Further proof of this.

A PROOF of this imperfection in their commercial intercourse no less striking is their want of money, or some universal standard by which to estimate the value of commodities. The discovery of this is among the steps of greatest consequence in the progress of nations. Until it has been made, all their transactions must be so awkward, so operose, and so limited, that we may boldly pronounce that they have advanced but a little way in their career. The invention of such a commercial standard is of such high antiquity in our hemisphere, and rises so far beyond the æra of authentic history, as to appear almost coëval with the existence of society. The pre-

[r] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 8.

cious

cious metals ſeem to have been early employed for this purpoſe, and from their permanent value, their diviſibility, and many other qualities, they are better adapted to ſerve as a common ſtandard than any other ſubſtance of which nature has given us the command. But in the New World, where theſe metals abound moſt, this uſe of them was not known. The exigencies of rude tribes, or of monarchies imperfectly civilized, did not call for it. All their commercial intercourſe was carried on by barter, and their ignorance of any common ſtandard by which to facilitate that exchange of commodities which contributes ſo much towards the comfort of life, may be juſtly mentioned as an evidence of the infant ſtate of their policy. But even in the New World the inconvenience of wanting ſome general inſtrument of commerce began to be felt, and ſome efforts were making towards ſupplying that defect. The Mexicans, among whom the number and greatneſs of their cities gave riſe to a more extended commerce than in any other part of America, had begun to employ a common ſtandard of value, which rendered ſmaller tranſactions much more eaſy. As chocolate was the favourite drink of perſons in every rank of life, the nuts or almonds of cacao, of which it is compoſed, were of ſuch univerſal conſumption, that, in their ſtated

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ſtated markets, theſe were willingly received in return for commodities of ſmall price. Thus they came to be conſidered as the inſtrument of commerce, and the value of what one wiſhed to diſpoſe of was eſtimated by the number of nuts of the cacao, which he might expect in exchange for it. This ſeems to be the utmoſt length which the Americans had advanced towards the diſcovery of any expedient for ſupplying the uſe of money. And if the want of it is to be held, on one hand, as a proof of their barbarity, this expedient for ſupplying that want, ſhould be admitted, on the other, as an evidence no leſs ſatisfying, of ſome progreſs which the Mexicans had made in refinement and civilization, beyond the ſavage tribes around them.

Doubts concerning the ſtate of their cities.

In ſuch a rude ſtate were many of the Mexican provinces when firſt viſited by their conquerors. Even their cities, extenſive and populous as they were, ſeem more fit to be the habitation of men juſt emerging from barbarity, than the reſidence of a poliſhed people. The deſcription of Tlaſcala nearly reſembles that of an Indian village. A number of low ſtraggling huts, ſcattered about irregularly, according to the caprice of each proprietor, built with turf and ſtone and thatched with reeds, without any light but what they

received

received by a door, so low that it could not be entered upright[s]. In Mexico, though, from the peculiarity of its situation, the disposition of the houses was more orderly, the structure of the greater part was equally mean. Nor does the fabric of their temples, and other public edifices, appear to have been such as entitled them to the high praises bestowed upon them by many Spanish authors. As far as one can gather from their obscure and inaccurate descriptions, the great temple of Mexico, the most famous in New Spain, which has been represented as a magnificent building, raised to such a height, that the ascent to it was by a flight of a hundred and fourteen steps, was a solid mass of earth of a square form, faced partly with stone. Its base on each side extended ninety feet, and decreasing gradually as it advanced in height, it terminated in a quadrangle of about thirty feet, where were placed a shrine of the deity, and two altars on which the victims were sacrificed[t]. All the other celebrated temples of New Spain exactly resembled that of Mexico[u]. Such structures convey no high idea of progress in art and ingenuity; and one can hardly conceive that a form more rude and simple could have oc-

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Temples.

[s] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 12.

[t] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 17.

[u] See NOTE XXXVII.

curred

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curred to a nation in its firſt efforts towards erecting any great work.

and other public buildings.

GREATER ſkill and ingenuity were diſplayed, if we may believe the Spaniſh hiſtorians, in the houſes of the Emperor and in thoſe of the principal nobility. There, ſome elegance of deſign was viſible, and a commodious arrangement of the apartments was attended to. But if buildings correſponding to ſuch deſcriptions had ever exiſted in the Mexican cities, it is probable that ſome remains of them would ſtill be viſible. From the manner in which Cortes conducted the ſiege of Mexico, we can indeed eaſily account for the total deſtruction of whatever had any appearance of ſplendour in that capital. But as only two centuries and a half have elapſed ſince the conqueſt of New Spain, it ſeems altogether incredible that in a period ſo ſhort, every veſtige of this boaſted elegance and grandeur ſhould have diſappeared; and that in the other cities, particularly in thoſe which did not ſuffer by the deſtructive hand of the conquerors, there are any ruins, which can be conſidered as monuments of their ancient magnificence.

EVEN in a village of the rudeſt Indians, there are buildings of greater extent and elevation than common dwelling-houſes. Such as are

deſtined for holding the council of the tribe, and in which all aſſemble on occaſions of public feſtivity, may be called ſtately edifices, when compared with the reſt. As among the Mexicans the diſtinction of ranks was eſtabliſhed, and property was unequally divided, the number of diſtinguiſhed ſtructures in their towns would of courſe be greater than in other parts of America. But theſe ſeem not to have been either ſo ſolid or magnificent as to merit the pompous epithets which ſome Spaniſh authors employ in deſcribing them. It is probable that, though more ornamented, and built on a larger ſcale, they were erected with the ſame ſlight materials which the Indians employed in their common buildings[w], and Time, in a ſpace much leſs than two hundred and fifty years, may have ſwept away all remains of them[x].

From this enumeration of facts, it ſeems, upon the whole, to be evident, that the ſtate of ſociety in Mexico was conſiderably advanced beyond that of the ſavage tribes which we have delineated. But it is no leſs manifeſt, that with reſpect to many particulars, the Spaniſh accounts of their progreſs appear to be highly embelliſhed. There is not a more frequent or a more fertile ſource of deception in deſcribing

[w] See NOTE XXXVIII. [x] See NOTE XXXIX.

the

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the manners and arts of ſavage nations, or of ſuch as are imperfectly civilized, than that of applying to them the names and phraſes appropriated to the inſtitutions and refinements of poliſhed life. When the leader of a ſmall tribe, or the head of a rude community, is dignified with the name of King or Emperor, the place of his reſidence can receive no other name but that of his palace; and whatever his attendants may be, they muſt be called his court. Under ſuch appellations they acquire, in our eſtimation, an importance and dignity which does not belong to them. The illuſion ſpreads, and giving a falſe colour to every part of the narrative, the imagination is ſo much carried away with the reſemblance, that it becomes difficult to diſcern objects as they really are. The Spaniards, when they firſt touched on the Mexican coaſt, were ſo much ſtruck with the appearance of attainments in policy and in the arts of life, far ſuperior to thoſe of the rude tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, that they fancied they had at length diſcovered a civilized people in the New World. This compariſon between the people of Mexico and their uncultivated neighbours, they appear to have kept conſtantly in view, and obſerving with admiration many things which marked the pre-eminence of the former, they employ in de-

ſcribing their imperfect policy and infant arts, ſuch terms as are applicable to the inſtitutions of men far beyond them in improvement. Both theſe circumſtances concur in detracting from the credit due to the deſcriptions of Mexican manners by the early Spaniſh writers. By drawing a parallel between them and thoſe of people ſo much leſs civilized, they raiſed their own ideas too high. By their mode of deſcribing them, they conveyed ideas to others no leſs exalted above truth. Later writers have adopted the ſtyle of the original hiſtorians, and improved upon it. The colours with which De Solis delineates the character and deſcribes the actions of Montezuma, the ſplendor of his court, the laws and policy of his empire, are the ſame that he muſt have employed in exhibiting to view the monarch and inſtitutions of an highly poliſhed people.

But though we may admit, that the warm imagination of the Spaniſh writers has added ſome embelliſhment to their deſcriptions, this will not juſtify the deciſive and peremptory tone with which ſeveral authors pronounce all their accounts of the Mexican power, policy, and laws, to be the fictions of men who wiſhed to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. There are few hiſtorical facts that can be aſcertained by evidence more unex-

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ceptionable than may be produced in ſupport of the material articles, in the deſcription of the Mexican conſtitution and manners. Eye witneſſes relate what they beheld. Men who had reſided among the Mexicans, both before and after the conqueſt, deſcribe inſtitutions and cuſtoms which were familiar to them. Perſons of profeſſions ſo different that objects muſt have preſented themſelves to their view under every various aſpect; ſoldiers, prieſts, and lawyers, all concur in their teſtimony. Had Cortes ventured to impoſe upon his ſovereign, by exhibiting to him a picture of imaginary manners, there wanted not enemies and rivals who were qualified to detect his deceit, and who would have rejoiced in expoſing it. But according to the juſt remark of an author, whoſe ingenuity has illuſtrated, and whoſe eloquence has adorned, the hiſtory of America[y], this ſuppoſition is in itſelf as improbable as the attempt would have been audacious. Who among the deſtroyers of this great empire was ſo enlightened by ſcience, or ſo attentive to the progreſs and operations of men in ſocial life, as to frame a fictitious ſyſtem of policy ſo well combined and ſo conſiſtent, as that which they delineate, in their accounts of the Mexican government?

[y] M. l'Abbé Raynal Hiſt. philoſ. & polit. &c. iii. 127.

Where

Where could they have borrowed the idea of many inſtitutions in legiſlation and police, to which, at that period, there was nothing parallel in the nations with which they were acquainted? There was not, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, a regular eſtabliſhment of poſts for conveying intelligence to the ſovereign of any kingdom in Europe. The ſame obſervation will apply to what the Spaniards relate, with reſpect to the ſtructure of the city of Mexico, the regulations concerning its police, and various laws eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, or ſecuring the happineſs of the community. Whoever is accuſtomed to contemplate the progreſs of nations, will often, at very early ſtages of it, diſcover a premature and unexpected dawn of thoſe ideas, which gave riſe to inſtitutions that are the pride and ornament of its moſt advanced period. Even in a ſtate as imperfectly poliſhed as the Mexican empire, the happy genius of ſome ſagacious obſerver, excited or aided by circumſtances unknown to us, may have introduced inſtitutions which are ſeldom found but in ſocieties highly refined. But it is almoſt impoſſible that the illiterate conquerors of the New World ſhould have formed in any one inſtance a conception of cuſtoms and laws beyond the ſtandard of improvement in their own age and country. Or if Cortes had been

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capable of this, what inducement had thoſe by whom he was ſuperſeded to continue the deception? Why ſhould Corita, or Motolinea, or Acoſta, have amuſed their ſovereign or their fellow-citizens with a tale purely fabulous?

Religion of the Mexicans.

In one particular, however, the guides whom we muſt follow have repreſented the Mexicans to be more barbarous, perhaps, than they really were. Their religious tenets, and the rites of their worſhip, are deſcribed by them as wild and cruel in an extreme degree. Religion, which occupies no conſiderable place in the thoughts of a ſavage, whoſe conceptions of any ſuperior power are obſcure, and his ſacred rites few as well as ſimple, was formed, among the Mexicans, into a regular ſyſtem, with its complete train of prieſts, temples, victims, and feſtivals. This, of itſelf, is a clear proof that the ſtate of the Mexicans was very different from that of the ruder American tribes. But from the extravagance of their religious notions, or the barbarity of their rites, no concluſion can be drawn with certainty concerning the degree of their civilization. For nations, long after their ideas begin to enlarge, and their manners to refine, adhere to ſyſtems of ſuperſtition founded on the crude conceptions of early ages. From the genius of the Mexican religion we may,

may, however, form a moſt juſt concluſion with reſpect to its influence upon the character of the people. The aſpect of ſuperſtition in Mexico was gloomy and atrocious. Its divinities were clothed with terror, and delighted in vengeance. They were exhibited to the people under deteſtable forms, which created horror. The figures of ſerpents, of tygers, and of other deſtructive animals, decorated their temples. Fear was the only principle that inſpired their votaries. Faſts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid, and many of them excruciating to an extreme degree, were the means employed to appeaſe the wrath of their gods, and the Mexicans never approached their altars without ſprinkling them with blood drawn from their own bodies. But, of all offerings, human ſacrifices were deemed the moſt acceptable. This religious belief, mingling with the implacable ſpirit of vengeance, and adding new force to it, every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, was devoted as a victim to the deity, and ſacrificed with rites no leſs ſolemn than cruel [z]. The heart and head were the portion conſecrated to the gods; the warrior, by whoſe proweſs the priſoner had been ſeized, carried

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[z] Cort. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 240, &c. B. Diaz, c. 82. Acoſta, lib. v. c. 13, &c. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15, &c. Gomara Cron. c. 80, &c. See NOTE XL.

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off the body to feaſt upon it with his friends. Under the impreſſion of ideas ſo dreary and terrible, and accuſtomed daily to ſcenes of bloodſhed rendered awful by religion, the heart of man muſt harden and be ſteeled to every ſentiment of humanity. The ſpirit of the Mexicans was accordingly unfeeling, and the genius of their religion ſo far counterbalanced the influence of policy and arts, that notwithſtanding their progreſs in both, their manners, inſtead of ſoftening, became more fierce. To what circumſtances it was owing that ſuperſtition aſſumed ſuch a dreadful form among the Mexicans, we have not ſufficient knowledge of their hiſtory to determine. But its influence is viſible, and produced an effect that is ſingular in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies. The manners of the people in the New World who had made the greateſt progreſs in the arts of policy, were, in ſeveral reſpects, the moſt ferocious, and the barbarity of ſome of their cuſtoms exceeded even thoſe of the ſavage ſtate.

Pretenſions of Peru to an high antiquity uncertain.

THE empire of Peru boaſts of an higher antiquity than that of Mexico. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, it had ſubſiſted four hundred years, under twelve ſucceſſive monarchs. But the knowledge of their ancient ſtory, which the Peruvians

Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, muſt have been both imperfect and uncertain[a]. Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and deſtitute of the only means by which the memory of paſt tranſactions can be preſerved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the uſe of letters is known, the æra where the authenticity of hiſtory commences is much poſterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continued, every where, to be long ſubſervient to the common buſineſs and wants of life, before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down hiſtorical knowledge, in any full continued ſtream, during a period of half the length that the monarchy of Peru is ſaid to have ſubſiſted.

Defects in their records by *Quipos*.

THE *Quipos*, or knots on cords of different colours, which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly ſupplied the place of writing. According to the obſcure deſcription of them by Acoſta[b], which Garcilaſſo de la Vega has adopted with little variation and no improvement, the quipos ſeem to

[a] See NOTE XLI. [b] Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 8.

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have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of register kept, of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for public use. But as by these knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abstract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be represented, they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient events and institutions. By the Mexican paintings and symbols, rude as they were, more knowledge of remote transactions seems to have been conveyed, than the Peruvians could derive from their boasted quipos. Had the latter been even of more extensive use, and better adapted to supply the place of written records, they perished so generally, together with other monuments of Peruvian ingenuity, in the wreck occasioned by the Spanish conquest, and the civil wars subsequent to it, that no accession of light or knowledge comes from them. All the zeal of Garcilasso de la Vega, for the honour of that race of monarchs from whom he descended, all the industry of his researches, and the superior advantages with which he carried them on, opened no source of information unknown to the Spanish authors who wrote before him. In

his *Royal Commentaries*, he confines himſelf to illuſtrate what they had related concerning the antiquities and inſtitutions of Peru[c]; and his illuſtrations, like their accounts, are derived entirely from the traditionary tales current among his countrymen. BOOK VII.

VERY little credit then is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conqueſts, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can reſt upon nothing in their ſtory, as authentic, but a few facts ſo interwoven in the ſyſtem of their religion and policy, as preſerved the memory of them from being loſt; and upon the deſcription of ſuch cuſtoms and inſtitutions as continued in force at the time of the conqueſt, and fell under the immediate obſervation of the Spaniards. By attending carefully to theſe, and endeavouring to ſeparate them from what appears to be fabulous, or of doubtful authority, I have laboured to form an idea of the Peruvian government and manners.

THE people of Peru, as I have already obſerved[d], had not advanced beyond the rudeſt form of ſavage life, when Manco Capac, and Origin of their civil policy.

[c] Lib. i. c. 10. [d] Book vi. p. 126, &c.

his

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his conſort Mama Ocollo, appeared to inſtruct and civilize them. Who theſe extraordinary perſonages were, whether they imported their ſyſtem of legiſlation and knowledge of arts from ſome country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas ſo far ſuperior to thoſe of the people whom they addreſſed, are circumſtances with reſpect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no information. Manco Capac and his conſort, taking advantage of the propenſity in the Peruvians to ſuperſtition, and particularly of their veneration for the Sun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their inſtructions in his name, and by authority from him. The multitude liſtened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians aſcribe to thoſe founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his conſort, their anceſtors gradually acquired ſome knowledge of thoſe arts, and ſome reliſh for that induſtry, which render ſubſiſtence ſecure and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Thoſe bleſſings were originally confined within narrow precincts; but in proceſs of time, the ſucceſſors of Manco Capac extended their dominion over all the regions that ſtretch to the weſt of the Andes from Chili to Quito, eſtabliſhing in every province their peculiar policy and religious inſtitutions.

THE

THE moſt ſingular and ſtriking circumſtance in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make ſuch a feeble impreſſion on the mind of a ſavage, that their effect upon his ſentiments and manners is hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular ſyſtem, and holding a conſiderable place in their public inſtitutions, operated with conſpicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole ſyſtem of policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legiſlator, but as the meſſenger of Heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a ſuperior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was to be held ſacred; and in order to preſerve it diſtinct, without being polluted by any mixture of leſs noble blood, the ſons of Manco Capac married their own ſiſters, and no perſon was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by ſuch a pure deſcent. To thoſe *Children of the Sun*, for that was the appellation beſtowed upon all the offſpring of the firſt Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a ſuperior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they iſſued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was ſuppoſed to be dictated.

Founded in religion.

FROM

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FROM thoſe ideas two conſequences reſulted. The authority of the Inca was unlimited and abſolute, in the moſt extenſive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are conſidered as the commands of the Divinity, it is not only an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to diſpute or oppoſe his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to control a monarch who is believed to be under the guidance of Heaven, and preſumptuous to adviſe him, nothing remains but to ſubmit with implicit reſpect. This muſt neceſſarily be the effect of every government eſtabliſhed on pretenſions of intercourſe with ſuperior powers. Such accordingly was the blind ſubmiſſion which the Peruvians yielded to their ſovereigns. The perſons of higheſt rank and greateſt power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in teſtimony of this, when admitted into their preſence, they entered with a burden upon their ſhoulders, as an emblem of their ſervitude, and willingneſs to bear whatever the Inca was pleaſed to impoſe. Among their ſubjects, force was not requiſite to ſecond their commands. Every officer entruſted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent obſerver of Peruvian manners[e], he might proceed

Two remarkable effects of this.

The abſolute power of the Incas.

[e] Zarate, lib. i. c. 13.

alone

alone from one extremity of the empire to another without meeting oppoſition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal *Borla*, an ornament of the head peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his diſpoſal.

All crimes puniſhed capitally.

ANOTHER conſequence of eſtabliſhing government in Peru on the foundation of religion was, that all crimes were puniſhed capitally. They were not conſidered as tranſgreſſions of human laws, but as inſults offered to the Deity. Each, without any diſtinction between ſuch as were ſlight and ſuch as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Conſonantly to the ſame ideas, puniſhment followed the treſpaſs with inevitable certainty, becauſe an offence againſt Heaven was deemed ſuch an high enormity as could not be pardoned[f]. Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of juriſprudence ſo ſevere and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and deſperate, would be more apt to multiply crimes than to reſtrain them. But the Peruvians, of ſimple manners and unſuſpicious faith, were held in ſuch awe by this rigid diſcipline, that the number of offenders was extremely ſmall. Veneration for monarchs, en-

[f] Vega, lib. ii. c. 6.

lightened

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lightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of punishment which they were taught to consider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

Mild genius of their religion.

THE system of superstition on which the Incas ingrafted their pretensions to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that established among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The Sun, as the great source of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The Moon and Stars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to secondary honours. Wherever the propensity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore some superior power, takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exist in nature, the spirit of superstition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are supposed to preside in nature, and become the objects of worship, superstition always assumes a more severe and atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru. The Peruvians had not, indeed, made such

progreſs in obſervation or inquiry, as to have attained juſt conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated, that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the World[s]. But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its univerſal and vivifying energy, is the beſt emblem of divine benificence, the rites and obſervances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the Sun a part of thoſe productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the boſom of the earth, and reared to maturity. They ſacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, ſome of the animals which were indebted to his influence for nouriſhment. They preſented to him choice ſpecimens of thoſe works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never ſtained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father the Sun would be delighted with ſuch horrid victims[t]. Thus the Peruvians, unacquainted with thoſe barbarous rites which extinguiſh ſenſibility, and ſuppreſs the feelings

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[s] Acoſta, lib. v. c. 3.

[t] See NOTE XLII.

of

BOOK VII. of nature at the ſight of human ſufferings, were formed by the ſpirit of the ſuperſtition which they had adopted, to a national character, more gentle than that of any people in America.

Its influence on civil policy. THE influence of this ſuperſtition operated in the ſame manner upon their civil inſtitutions, and tended to correct in them whatever was adverſe to gentleneſs of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the moſt abſolute of all deſpotiſms, was mitigated by its alliance with religion. The mind was not humbled and depreſſed by the idea of a forced ſubjection to the will of a ſuperior; obedience, paid to one who was believed to be clothed with divine authority, was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The ſovereign, conſcious that the ſubmiſſive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly deſcent, was continually reminded of a diſtinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was ſuppoſed to repreſent. In conſequence of thoſe impreſſions, there hardly occurs in the traditional hiſtory of Peru, any inſtance of rebellion againſt the reigning prince, and among twelve ſucceſſive monarchs, there was not one tyrant.

EVEN

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and on their military ſyſtem.

EVEN the wars in which the Incas engaged, were carried on with a ſpirit very different from that of other American nations. They fought not, like ſavages, to deſtroy and exterminate; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirſty divinities with human ſacrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquiſhed, and to diffuſe the knowledge of their own inſtitutions and arts. Priſoners ſeem not to have been expoſed to the inſults and tortures, which were their lot in every other part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they ſubdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original ſubjects. This practice, ſo repugnant to American ferocity, and reſembling the humanity of the moſt poliſhed nations, muſt be aſcribed, like other peculiarities which we have obſerved in the Peruvian manners, to the genius of their religion. The Incas, conſidering the homage paid to any other object than to the heavenly powers which they adored as impious, were fond of gaining proſelytes to their favourite ſyſtem. The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco[1], and placed there as trophies of the ſuperior

[1] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 12.

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[1] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 12.

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power of the divinity who was the protector of the empire. The people were treated with lenity, and inſtructed in the religious tenets of their new maſters[k], that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

Peculiar ſtate of property.

THE ſtate of property in Peru was no leſs ſingular than that of religion, and contributed, likewiſe, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three ſhares. One was conſecrated to the Sun, and the product of it was applied to the erection of temples, and furniſhing what was requiſite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The ſecond belonged to the Inca, and was ſet apart as the proviſion made by the community for the ſupport of government. The third and largeſt ſhare was reſerved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. Neither individuals, however, nor communities, had a right of excluſive property in the portion ſet apart for their uſe. They poſſeſſed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new diviſion was made in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each

[k] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 8.

family. All thoſe lands were cultivated by the joint induſtry of the community. The people, ſummoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common taſk, while ſongs and muſical inſtruments cheered them to their labour[1]. By this ſingular diſtribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common intereſt, and of mutual ſubſerviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connection with thoſe around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increaſe he was to reap. A ſtate thus conſtituted may be conſidered as one great family, in which the union of the members was ſo complete, and the exchange of good offices ſo perceptible, as to create ſtronger attachment, and to bind man to man in cloſer intercourſe, than ſubſiſted under any form of ſociety eſtabliſhed in America. From this reſulted gentle manners, and mild virtues unknown in the ſavage ſtate, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

Effects of this.

But, though the inſtitutions of the Incas were ſo framed as to ſtrengthen the bonds of affection among their ſubjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The diſtinction of ranks was

Inequality of ranks.

[1] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 2. Vega, lib. v. c. 5.

BOOK VII. fully eſtabliſhed in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of *Yanaconas*, were held in a ſtate of ſervitude. Their garb and houſes were of a form different from thoſe of freemen. Like the *Tamenes* of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery[m]. Next to them in rank, were ſuch of the people as were free, but diſtinguiſhed by no official or hereditary honours. Above them were raiſed, thoſe whom the Spaniards call *Orejones*, from the ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace as well as war held every office of power or truſt[n]. At the head of all were the children of the Sun, who, by their high deſcent and peculiar privileges, were as much exalted above the Orejones, as theſe were elevated above the people.

State of arts. SUCH a form of ſociety, from the union of its members, as well as from the diſtinction in their ranks, was favourable to progreſs in the arts. But the Spaniards having been acquainted with the improved ſtate of various arts in Mexico, ſeveral years before they diſcovered Peru, were not ſo much ſtruck with what they obſerved

[m] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4., lib. x. c. 8.
[n] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 1.

in

in the latter country, and deſcribe the appearances of ingenuity there with leſs warmth of admiration. The Peruvians, nevertheleſs, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the neceſſary arts of life, and in ſuch as have ſome title to the name of elegant. BOOK VII.

Improved ſtate of agriculture.

In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary neceſſity in ſocial life, was more extenſive, and carried on with greater ſkill than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progreſs through the country, were ſo fully ſupplied with proviſions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with few of thoſe diſmal ſcenes of diſtreſs occaſioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were ſo often involved. The quantity of ſoil under cultivation was not left to the diſcretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful ſeaſon was but little felt, for the product of the lands conſecrated to the Sun, as well as thoſe ſet apart for the Incas, being depoſited in the *Tambos*, or public ſtore-houſes, it remained there as a ſtated proviſion for times of ſcarcity[o]. As the extent of cultivation was determined

[o] Zarate, lib. i. c. 14. Vega, lib. i c. 8.

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with ſuch provident attention to the demands of the ſtate, the invention and induſtry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and ſoil. All the vaſt rivers that flow from the Andes take their courſe eaſtward to the Atlantic Ocean. Peru is watered only by ſome ſtreams which ruſh down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low country is ſandy and barren, and never refreſhed with rain. In order to render ſuch an unpromiſing region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had recourſe to various expedients. By means of artificial canals, conducted with much patience and conſiderable art, from the torrents that poured acroſs their country, they conveyed a regular ſupply of moiſture to their fields [p]. They enriched the ſoil by manuring it with the dung of ſea-fowls, of which they found an inexhauſtible ſtore on all the iſlands ſcattered along their coaſts [q]. In deſcribing the cuſtoms of any nation thoroughly civilized, ſuch practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable; but in the hiſtory of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as ſingular

[p] Zarate, lib. i. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 1, & 24.

[q] Acoſta, lib. iv. c. 37. Vega, lib. v. c. 3. See NOTE XLIII.

gular proofs of induſtry and of art. The uſe of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood [r]. Nor was this labour deemed ſo degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both ſexes joined in performing this neceſſary work. Even the children of the Sun ſet an example of induſtry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this function by denominating it their triumph over the earth [s].

Their buildings.

THE ſuperior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewiſe, in the conſtruction of their houſes and public buildings. In the extenſive plains which ſtretch along the Pacific Ocean, where the ſky is perpetually ſerene, and the climate mild, their houſes were very properly of a fabric extremely ſlight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the viciſſitude of ſeaſons is known, and their rigour felt, houſes were conſtructed with greater ſolidity. They were generally of a ſquare form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the ſun, without any windows, and the door low and ſtrait. Simple as theſe ſtructures were, and rude as the materials may ſeem to be of which they were formed, they were ſo

[r] Zarate, lib. i. c. 8.

[s] Vega, lib. v. c. 2.

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durable, that many of them ſtill ſubſiſt in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domeſtic ſtate of the other American nations has vaniſhed from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples conſecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings deſtined for the reſidence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians diſplayed the utmoſt extent of their art and contrivance. The deſcriptions of them by ſuch of the Spaniſh writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them, while, in ſome meaſure, entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated, if the ruins which ſtill remain, did not vouch the truth of their relations. Theſe ruins of ſacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonſtrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who muſt have ſubſiſted, during a period of ſome extent, in a ſtate of no inconſiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices various in their dimenſions. Some of a moderate ſize, many of immenſe extent, all remarkable for ſolidity, and reſembling each other in the ſtyle of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace of the Inca, and a fortreſs, were ſo connected together as to form one great ſtructure, above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the ſame ſingular taſte in building

ing is conſpicuous, as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the uſe of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large ſtones and bricks which they employed in building to any conſiderable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they ſeem to have made their greateſt effort towards magnificence, did not riſe above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not diſcovered the uſe of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or ſtones were joined with ſo much nicety, that the ſeams can hardly be diſcerned[t]. The apartments, as far as the diſtribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill-diſpoſed, and afforded little accommodation. There was not a ſingle window in any part of the building; and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largeſt dimenſion muſt either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by ſome other means. But with all theſe, and many other imperfections that might be mentioned in their art of building, the works of the Peruvians which ſtill remain, muſt be conſidered as ſtupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the uſe of iron, and convey to us an high idea of the power poſſeſſed by their ancient monarchs.

[t] See NOTE XLIV.

THESE

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Their public roads.

THESE, however, were not the nobleſt or moſt uſeful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted ſtretch above fifteen hundred miles, are entitled to ſtill higher praiſe. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the ſea-coaſt. From the language of admiration in which ſome of the early writers expreſs their aſtoniſhment when they firſt viewed thoſe roads, and from the more pompous deſcription of later writers, who labour to ſupport ſome favourite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power; but in a country where there was no tame animal except the Llama, which was never uſed for draught, and but little as a beaſt of burden, where the high roads were ſeldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labour or art was requiſite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet in breadth[u], and in many places ſo ſlightly formed, that time has effaced every veſtige of the courſe in which they ran. In the low country little more ſeems to have been done, than to plant trees or to fix poſts at certain intervals, in

[u] Cieca, c. 6.

order

order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous taſk. Eminences were levelled, and hollows filled up, and for the preſervation of the road it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper diſtances, Tambos, or ſtorehouſes, were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progreſs through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its courſe may ſtill be traced *. Such was the celebrated road of the Incas; and even from this deſcription, diveſted of every circumſtance of manifeſt exaggeration, or of ſuſpicious aſpect, it muſt be conſidered as a ſtriking proof of an extraordinary progreſs in improvement and policy. To the ſavage tribes of America, the idea of facilitating communication with places at a diſtance had never occurred. To the Mexicans it was hardly known. Even in the moſt civilized countries of Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before

* Xerez, p. 189. 198. Zarate, lib. i. c. 13, 14. Vega, lib. ix. c. 13. Bourguer Voyage, p. 125. Ulloa Entretenimientos, p. 365.

it

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it became a regular object of national police to form ſuch roads as render intercourſe commodious. It was a capital object of Roman policy to open a communication with all the provinces of their extenſive empire, by means of thoſe roads which are juſtly conſidered as one of the nobleſt monuments both of their wiſdom and their power. But during the long reign of barbariſm, the Roman roads were neglected or deſtroyed; and at the time when the Spaniards entered Peru, no kingdom in Europe could boaſt of any work of public utility that could be compared with the great roads formed by the Incas.

and bridges.

THE formation of thoſe roads introduced another improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the reſt of America. In its courſe from ſouth to north, the road of the Incas was interſected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Weſtern Ocean. From the rapidity of their courſe, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation, theſe were not fordable. Some expedient, however, was to be found for paſſing them. The Peruvians, from their unacquaintance with the uſe of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not conſtruct bridges either of ſtone or timber. But neceſſity, the parent of invention,

ſuggeſted a device which ſupplied that defect. They formed cables of great ſtrength, by twiſting together ſome of the pliable withs or oſiers, with which their country abounds; ſix of theſe cables they ſtretched acroſs the ſtream parallel to one another, and made them faſt on each ſide. Theſe they bound firmly together by inter-weaving ſmaller ropes ſo cloſe, as to form a compact piece of net-work, which being covered with branches of trees and earth, they paſſed along it with tolerable ſecurity [x]. Proper perſons were appointed to attend at each bridge, to keep it in repair, and to aſſiſt paſſengers [y]. In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and ſtill, they are paſſed in *Balzas*, or floats; in the conſtruction, as well as navigation of which, the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far ſuperior to that of any people in America. Theſe had advanced no farther in naval ſkill than the uſe of the paddle, or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raiſe a maſt, and ſpread a ſail, by means of which their balzas not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity [z].

[x] See NOTE XLV.

[y] Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 376. B. Zarate, lib. i. c. 14. Vega, lib. iii. c. 7, 8. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 3, 4.

[z] Ulloa Voy. i. 167, &c.

Nor

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Mode of refining ſilver ore.

Nor were the ingenuity and art of the Peruvians confined ſolely to objects of eſſential utility. They had made ſome progreſs in arts, which may be called elegant. They poſſeſſed the precious metals in greater abundance than any people of America. They obtained gold in the ſame manner with the Mexicans, by ſearching in the channels of rivers, or waſhing the earth in which particles of it were contained. But in order to procure ſilver, they exerted no inconſiderable degree of ſkill and invention. They had not, indeed, attained the art of ſinking a ſhaft into the bowels of the earth, and penetrating to the riches concealed there; but they hollowed deep caverns on the banks of rivers and the ſides of mountains, and emptied ſuch veins as did not dip ſuddenly beyond their reach. In other places, where the vein lay near the ſurface, they dug pits to ſuch a depth, that the perſon who worked below could throw out the ore, or hand it up in baſkets [a]. They had diſcovered the art of ſmelting and refining this, either by the ſimple application of fire, or where the ore was more ſtubborn, and impregnated with foreign ſubſtances, by placing it in ſmall ovens or furnaces, on high grounds, ſo artificially conſtructed, that the draught of air performed

[a] Ramuſio, iii. 414. A.

the

the function of a bellows, an engine with which they were totally unacquainted. By this ſimple device, the purer ores were ſmelted with facility, and the quantity of ſilver in Peru was ſo conſiderable, that many of the utenſils employed in the functions of common life were made of it [b]. Several of thoſe veſſels and trinkets are ſaid to have merited no ſmall degree of eſtimation, on account of the neatneſs of the workmanſhip, as well as the intrinſic value of the materials. But as the conquerors of America were well acquainted with the latter, but had ſcarcely any conception of the former, moſt of the ſilver veſſels and trinkets were melted down, and rated according to the weight and fineneſs of the metal in the diviſion of the ſpoil.

Works of elegance.

In other works of mere curioſity or ornament, their ingenuity has been highly celebrated. Many ſpecimens of thoſe have been dug out of the *Guacas*, or mounds of earth, with which the Peruvians covered the bodies of the dead. Among theſe are mirrors of various dimenſions, of hard ſhining ſtones highly poliſhed; veſſels of earthen ware of different forms; hatchets, and other inſtruments, ſome

[b] Acoſta, lib. iv. c. 4, 5. Vega, p. 1. lib. viii. c. 25. Ulloa Entreten. 258.

deſtined

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deſtined for war, and others for labour. Some were of flint, ſome of copper, hardened to ſuch a degree by an unknown proceſs, as to ſupply the place of iron on ſeveral occaſions. Had the uſe of thoſe tools formed of copper been general, the progreſs of the Peruvians in the arts might have been ſuch, as to emulate that of more cultivated nations. But either the metal was ſo rare, or the operation by which it was hardened ſo tedious, that their inſtruments of copper were few, and ſo extremely ſmall, that they ſeem to have been employed only in ſlighter works. But even to ſuch a circumſcribed uſe of this imperfect metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their ſuperiority to the other people of America in various arts [c]. The ſame obſervation, however, may be applied to them, which I formerly made with reſpect to the arts of the Mexicans. From ſeveral ſpecimens of Peruvian utenſils and ornaments, which are depoſited in the royal cabinet of Madrid, and from ſome preſerved in different collections in other parts of Europe, I have reaſon to believe that the workmanſhip is more to be admired on account of the rude tools with which it was executed, than on account of its intrinſic neatneſs and elegance; and that the Peruvians,

[c] Ulloa Voy. tom. i. 381, &c. Id. Entreten. p. 369, &c.

though

though the moſt improved of all the Americans, were not advanced beyond the infancy of arts.

An imperfect civilization.

But notwithſtanding ſo many particulars, which ſeem to indicate an high degree of improvement in Peru, other circumſtances occur that ſuggeſt the idea of a ſociety ſtill in the firſt ſtages of its tranſition from barbariſm to civilization. In all the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name of a city. Every where elſe, the people lived moſtly in detached habitations, diſperſed over the country, or, at the utmoſt, ſettled together in ſmall villages[d]. But until men are brought to aſſemble in numerous bodies, and incorporated in ſuch cloſe union, as to enjoy frequent intercourſe, and to feel mutual dependence, they never imbibe perfectly the ſpirit, or aſſume the manners of ſocial life. In a country of immenſe extent, with only one city, the progreſs of manners, and the improvement either of the neceſſary or more refined arts, muſt have been ſo ſlow, and carried on under ſuch diſadvantages, that it is more ſurpriſing the Peruvians ſhould have advanced ſo far in refinement, than that they did not proceed farther.

No cities but Cuzco.

[d] Zarate, lib. i. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 4.

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No perfect ſeparation of profeſſions.

In conſequence of this ſtate of imperfect union, the ſeparation of profeſſions in Peru was not ſo complete as among the Mexicans. The leſs cloſely men aſſociate, the more ſimple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. The crafts of common and moſt neceſſary uſe in life do not, in ſuch a ſtate, become ſo complex or difficult, as to render it requiſite that men ſhould be trained to them by any particular courſe of education. All the arts, accordingly, which were of daily and indiſpenſable utility, were exerciſed by every Peruvian indiſcriminately. None but the artiſts employed in works of mere curioſity, or ornament, conſtituted a ſeparate order of men, or were diſtinguiſhed from other citizens[c].

Little commercial intercourſe.

From the want of cities in Peru, another conſequence followed. There was little commercial intercourſe among the inhabitants of that great empire. The activity of commerce is coëval with the foundation of cities; and from the moment that the members of any community ſettle in conſiderable numbers in one place, its operations become vigorous. The citizen muſt depend for ſubſiſtence on the labour of thoſe who cultivate the ground.

[c] Acoſto, lib. vi. c. 15. Vega, lib. v. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4.

They,

They, in return, muſt receive ſome equivalent. Thus mutual intercourſe is eſtabliſhed, and the productions of art are regularly exchanged for the fruits of agriculture. In the towns of the Mexican empire, ſtated markets were held, and whatever could ſupply any want or deſire of man was an object of commerce. But in Peru, from the ſingular mode of dividing property, and the manner in which the people were ſettled, there was hardly any ſpecies of commerce carried on between different provinces[f], and the community was leſs acquainted with that active intercourſe, which is at once a bond of union, and an incentive to improvement.

Unwarlike ſpirit of the Peruvians.

But the unwarlike ſpirit of the Peruvians was the moſt remarkable, as well as the moſt fatal defect in their character[g]. The greater part of the rude nations of America oppoſed their invaders with undaunted ferocity, though with little conduct or ſucceſs. The Mexicans maintained the ſtruggle in defence of their liberties, with ſuch perſevering fortitude, that it was with difficulty the Spaniards triumphed over them. Peru was ſubdued at once, and

[f] Vega, lib. vi. c. 8.

[g] Xerez, 190. Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 372. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 3.

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almoſt without reſiſtance; and the moſt favourable opportunities of regaining their freedom, and of cruſhing their oppreſſors, were loſt through the timidity of the people. Though the traditional hiſtory of the Peruvians repreſents all the Incas as warlike princes, frequently at the head of armies, which they led to victory and conqueſt; few ſymptoms of ſuch a martial ſpirit appear in any of their operations ſubſequent to the invaſion of the Spaniards. The influence, perhaps, of thoſe inſtitutions which rendered their manners gentle, gave their minds this unmanly ſoftneſs; perhaps, the conſtant ſerenity and mildneſs of the climate may have enervated the vigour of their frame; perhaps ſome principle in their government, unknown to us, was the occaſion of this political debility. Whatever may have been the cauſe, the fact is certain, and there is not an inſtance in hiſtory of any people ſo little advanced in refinement, ſo totally deſtitute of military enterprize. This character hath deſcended to their poſterity. The Indians of Peru are now more tame and depreſſed than any people of America. Their feeble ſpirits, relaxed in lifeleſs inaction, ſeem hardly capable of any bold or manly exertion.

But, beſides thoſe capital defects in the political ſtate of Peru, ſome detached circumſtances and facts occur in the Spaniſh writers, which diſ-

cover a conſiderable remainder of barbarity in their manners. A cruel cuſtom, that prevailed in ſome of the moſt ſavage tribes, ſubſiſted among the Peruvians. On the death of the Incas, and of other eminent perſons, a conſiderable number of their attendants was put to death, and interred around their Guacas, that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be ſerved with the ſame reſpect. On the death of Huana-Capac, the moſt powerful of their monarchs, above a thouſand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb [h]. In one particular, their manners appear to have been more barbarous than thoſe of moſt rude tribes. Though acquainted with the uſe of fire in preparing maize, and other vegetables for food, they devoured both fleſh and fiſh perfectly raw, and aſtoniſhed the Spaniards, with a practice repugnant to the ideas of all civilized people [i].

Other dominions of Spain in America.

BUT though Mexico and Peru are the poſſeſſions of Spain in the New World, which, on account both of their ancient and preſent ſtate, have attracted the greateſt attention; her other dominions there are far from being inconſiderable, either in extent or value.

[h] Acoſta, lib. v. c. 8.

[i] Xerez, p. 190. Sancho, Ram. iii. 372. C. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 3.

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The greater part of them was reduced to ſubjection during the firſt part of the ſixteenth century, by private adventurers, who fitted out their ſmall armaments either in Hiſpaniola or in Old Spain; and were we to follow each leader in his progreſs, we ſhould diſcover the ſame daring courage, the ſame perſevering ardour, the ſame rapacious deſire of wealth, and the ſame capacity of enduring and ſurmounting every thing in order to attain it, which diſtinguiſhed the operations of the Spaniards in their greater American conqueſts. But, inſtead of entering into a detail, which, from the ſimilarity of the tranſactions, would appear almoſt a repetition of what has been already related, I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with ſuch a view of thoſe provinces of the Spaniſh empire in America, which have not hitherto been mentioned, as may convey to my readers an adequate idea of its greatneſs, fertility, and opulence.

A brief ſurvey of them.

I BEGIN with the countries contiguous to the two great monarchies, of whoſe hiſtory and inſtitutions I have given ſome account, and ſhall then briefly deſcribe the other diſtricts of Spaniſh America. The juriſdiction of the viceroy of New Spain extends over ſeveral provinces, which were not ſubject to the dominion of the Mexicans. The countries of

Such as are adjacent to the empire of Mexico.

Cinaloa and Sonora, &c.

Cinaloa and Sonora, that ſtretch along the eaſt ſide of the Vermilion ſea, or gulf of California, as well as the immenſe kingdoms of New Navarre and New Mexico, which bend towards the weſt and north, did not acknowledge the ſovereignty of Montezuma, or his predeceſſors. Theſe regions, not inferior in magnitude to all the Mexican empire, are reduced ſome to a greater, others to a leſs degree of ſubjection to the Spaniſh yoke. They extend through the moſt delightful part of the temperate zone; their ſoil is, in general, remarkably fertile, and all their productions, whether animal or vegetable, are moſt perfect in their kind. They have all a communication either with the Pacific Ocean, or with the Gulph of Mexico, and are watered by rivers which not only enrich them, but may become ſubſervient to commerce. The number of Spaniards ſettled in thoſe vaſt countries, is indeed extremely ſmall. They may be ſaid to have ſubdued rather than to have occupied them. But if the population in their ancient eſtabliſhments in America ſhall continue to increaſe, they may gradually ſpread over thoſe provinces, of which, however inviting, they have not hitherto been able to take full poſſeſſion. BOOK VII.

One circumſtance may contribute to the ſpeedy population of ſome diſtricts. Very rich mines both of gold and ſilver have been diſ- Rich mines.

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covered in many of the regions which I have mentioned. Wherever theſe are opened, and worked with ſucceſs, a multitude of people reſort. In order to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life, cultivation muſt be increaſed, artiſans of various kinds muſt aſſemble, and induſtry as well as wealth will be gradually diffuſed. Many examples of this have occurred in different parts of America ſince they fell under the dominion of the Spaniards. Populous villages and large towns have ſuddenly ariſen amidſt uninhabited wilds and mountains; and the working of mines, though far from being the moſt proper object towards which the attention of an infant ſociety ſhould be turned, may become the means both of promoting uſeful activity, and of augmenting the number of people. A recent and ſingular inſtance of this has happened, which, as it is but little known in Europe, and may be productive of great effects, merits attention. The Spaniards ſettled in the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora, had been long diſturbed by the depredations of ſome fierce tribes of Indians. In the year 1765, the incurſions of thoſe ſavages became ſo frequent, and ſo deſtructive, that the Spaniſh inhabitants, in deſpair, applied to the Marquis de Croix, Viceroy of Mexico, for ſuch a body of troops as might enable them to drive thoſe formidable invaders from their places of retreat

A recent and remarkable diſcovery.

in the mountains. But the treaſury of Mexico was ſo much exhauſted by the large ſums drawn from it, in order to ſupport the late war againſt Great Britain, that the viceroy could afford them no aid. The reſpect due to his virtues accompliſhed what his official power could not effect. He prevailed with the merchants of New Spain to advance about two hundred thouſand peſos for defraying the expence of the expedition. The war was conducted by an officer of abilities; and after being protracted for three years, chiefly by the difficulty of purſuing the fugitives over mountains and through defiles which were almoſt impaſſable, it terminated, in the year 1771, in the final ſubmiſſion of the tribes, which had been ſo long the object of terror to the two provinces. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Spaniards marched through countries into which they ſeem not to have penetrated before that time, and diſcovered mines of ſuch value, as was aſtoniſhing even to men acquainted with the riches contained in the mountains of the New World. At Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora, they entered a plain of fourteen leagues in extent, in which, at the depth of only ſixteen inches, they found gold in grains of ſuch a ſize, that ſome of them weighed nine marks, and in ſuch quantities, that in a ſhort time, with a few labourers, they collected a thouſand marks of gold

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gold in grains, even without taking time to waſh the earth that had been dug, which appeared to be ſo rich, that perſons of ſkill computed that it might yield what would be equal in value to a million of peſos. Before the end of the year 1771, above two thouſand perſons were ſettled in Cineguilla, under the government of proper magiſtrates, and the inſpection of ſeveral eccleſiaſtics. As ſeveral other mines, not inferior in richneſs to that of Cineguilla, have been diſcovered, both in Sonora and Cinaloa[k], it is probable that theſe neglected and thinly-inhabited provinces, may ſoon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spaniſh empire in America.

Probable effects of this.

California, its ſtate,

THE peninſula of California, on the other ſide of the Vermilion ſea, ſeems to have been leſs known to the ancient Mexicans than the provinces which I have mentioned. It was diſcovered by Cortes in the year 1536[l]. During a long period it continued to be ſo little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in moſt charts it was repreſented as an iſland, not as a peninſula[m]. Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from its ſituation, muſt be very deſirable; the Spaniards have made ſmall progreſs in peo-

[k] See NOTE XLVI.
[l] Book v. vol. iii. p. 100.
[m] See NOTE XLVII.

pling

pling it. Towards the close of the last century, the Jesuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and in civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it as complete as that which they possessed in their missions in Paraguay, and they laboured to introduce into it the same policy, and to govern the natives by the same maxims. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs and operations, they seem studiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as so disagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil as so barren, that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives, could have induced them to settle there[a]. Several public-spirited citizens endeavoured to undeceive their sovereigns, and to give them a better view of California; but in vain. At length, on the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, the court of Madrid, as prone at that juncture to suspect the purity of the Order's intensions, as formerly to confide in them with implicit trust, appointed Don Joseph Galvez, whose abilities have since raised him to the high rank of minister for the Indies, to visit that peninsula. His account of the country

and probability of its improving.

[a] Venegas, Hist. of California, i. 26.

was

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was favourable; he found the pearl fiſhery on its coaſts to be valuable, and he diſcovered mines of gold of a very promiſing appearance[o]. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable, that if the population of theſe provinces ſhall increaſe in the manner which I have ſuppoſed, California may, by degrees, receive from them ſuch a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the deſolate and uſeleſs diſtricts of the Spaniſh empire.

Yucatan and Honduras.

On the eaſt of Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras are comprehended in the government of New Spain, though anciently they can hardly be ſaid to have formed a part of the Mexican empire. Theſe large provinces, ſtretching from the bay of Campeachy beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, do not, like the other territories of Spain in the New World, derive their value either from the fertility of their ſoil, or the richneſs of their mines: but they produce in greater abundance, than any part of America, the logwood-tree, which, in dying ſome colours, is ſo far preferable to any other material, that the conſumption of it in Europe is conſiderable, and it has become an article in commerce of great value. During a long period, no European nation intruded

[o] Lorenzano, 349, 350.

upon

upon the Spaniards in thoſe provinces, or attempted to obtain any ſhare in this branch of trade. But after the conqueſt of Jamaica by the Engliſh, it ſoon appeared that a formidable rival was now ſeated in the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh territories. One of the firſt objects which tempted the Engliſh ſettled in that iſland, was the great profit ariſing from the logwood trade, and the facility of wreſting ſome portion of it from the Spaniards. Some adventurers from Jamaica made the firſt attempt at Cape Catoche, the ſouth-eaſt promontory of Yucatan, and by cutting logwood there, carried on a gainful traffic. When moſt of the trees near the coaſt in that place were felled, they removed to the iſland of Triſt, in the Bay of Campeachy, and in later times, their principal ſtation has been in the Bay of Honduras. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroachment, endeavoured by negociation, remonſtrances, and open force, to prevent the Engliſh from obtaining any footing on that part of the American continent. But after ſtruggling againſt it for more than a century, the diſaſters of laſt war extorted from the court of Madrid a reluctant conſent to tolerate this ſettlement of foreigners in the heart of its territories [p]. The pain which this

BOOK VII.

Their decline.

[p] Treaty of Paris, Art. xviii.

humbling

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humbling conceſſion occaſioned, ſeems to have prompted the Spaniards to deviſe a method of rendering it of little conſequence, more effectual than all the efforts of negociation or violence. The logwood produced on the weſt coaſt of Yucatan, where the ſoil is drier, is in quality far ſuperior to that which grows on the marſhy grounds where the Engliſh are ſettled. By encouraging the cutting of this, and permitting the importation of it into Spain without paying any duty [q], ſuch vigour has been given to this branch of commerce, and the logwood which the Engliſh bring to market has ſunk ſo much in value, that their trade to the Bay of Honduras has gradually declined [r] ſince it obtained a legal ſanction; and, it is probable, will ſoon be finally abandoned. In that event, Yutacan and Honduras will become poſſeſſions of conſiderable importance to Spain.

and revival.

Coſta Rica and Veragua.

STILL farther eaſt than Honduras lie the two provinces of Coſta Rica and Veragua, which likewiſe belong to the vice-royalty of New Spain; but both have been ſo much neglected by the Spaniards, and are apparently of ſuch ſmall value, that they merit no particular attention.

[q] Real Cedula, Campomanes, iii. 145.

[r] See NOTE XLVIII.

THE

THE moſt important province depending on the vice-royalty of Peru, is Chili. The Incas had eſtabliſhed their dominion in ſome of its northern diſtricts; but in the greater part of the country, its gallant and high-ſpirited inhabitants maintained their independence. The Spaniards, allured by the fame of its opulence, early attempted the conqueſt of it under Diego Almagro; and after his death, Pedro de Valdivia reſumed the deſign. Both met with fierce oppoſition. The former relinquiſhed the enterprize in the manner which I have mentioned [s]. The latter, after having given many diſplays, both of courage and military ſkill, was cut off, together with a conſiderable body of troops under his command. Franciſco de Villagra, Valdivia's lieutenant, by his ſpirited conduct, checked the natives in their career, and ſaved the remainder of the Spaniards from deſtruction. By degrees, all the champaign country along the coaſt was ſubjected to the Spaniſh dominion. The mountainous country is ſtill poſſeſſed by the Puelches, Araucos, and other tribes of its original inhabitants, formidable neighbours to the Spaniards; with whom, during the courſe of two centuries, they have been obliged to

[s] Book vi. vol. iii. p. 170, &c.

maintain

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ties which they received from the mother-country, were conveyed from Panama to the ſame harbours. Thus both the exports and imports of Chili paſſed through the hands of merchants ſettled in Peru. Theſe had of courſe a profit on each; and in both tranſactions the Chileſe felt their own ſubordination; and having no direct intercourſe with the parent ſtate, they depended upon another province for the diſpoſal of their productions, as well as for the ſupply of their wants. Under ſuch diſcouragements, population could not increaſe, and induſtry was deſtitute of one chief incitement. But now that Spain, from motives which I ſhall mention hereafter, has adopted a new ſyſtem, and carries on her commerce with the colonies in the South Sea, by ſhips which go round Cape Horn, a direct intercourſe is opened between Chili and the mother-country. The gold, the ſilver, and the other commodities of the province will be exchanged in its own harbours for the manufactures of Europe. Chili may ſpeedily riſe into that importance among the Spaniſh ſettlements to which it is entitled by its natural advantages. It may become the granary of Peru, and the other provinces along the Pacific Ocean. It may ſupply them with wine, with cattle, with horſes, with hemp, and many other

Proſpect of its improvement.

other articles for which they now depend upon Europe. Though the new ſyſtem has been eſtabliſhed only a few years, thoſe effects of it begin already to be obſerved[t]. If it ſhall be adhered to with any ſteadineſs for half a century, one may venture to foretel, that population, induſtry, and opulence will advance in this province with rapid progreſs. BOOK VII.

To the eaſt of the Andes, the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata border on Chili, and like it were dependent on the vice-royalty of Peru. Theſe regions of immenſe extent ſtretch in length from north to ſouth above thirteen hundred miles, and in breadth more than a thouſand. This country, which is larger than moſt European kingdoms, naturally forms itſelf into two great diviſions, one on the north, and the other on the ſouth of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the famous miſſions of the Jeſuits, and ſeveral other diſtricts. But as diſputes have long ſubſiſted between the courts of Spain and Portugal, concerning its boundaries, which, it is probable, will be ſoon finally aſcertained, either amicably, or by the deciſion of the ſword, I chuſe to reſerve my ac- Provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata. Northern and ſouthern diviſion.

[t] Campomanes, ii. 157.

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count of this northern diviſion, until I enter upon the hiſtory of Portugueſe America, with which it is intimately connected; and, in relating it, I ſhall be able, from authentic materials, ſupplied both by Spain and Portugal, to give a full and accurate deſcription of the operations and views of the Jeſuits, in rearing that ſingular fabric of policy in America, which has drawn ſo much attention, and has been ſo imperfectly underſtood. The latter diviſion of the province contains the governments of Tucuman and Buenos-Ayres, and to theſe I ſhall at preſent confine my obſervations.

View of the latter.

THE Spaniards entered this part of America by the river De la Plata; and though a ſucceſſion of cruel diſaſters befel them in their early attempts to eſtabliſh their dominion in it, they were encouraged to perſiſt in the deſign, at firſt by the hopes of diſcovering mines in the interior country, and afterwards by the neceſſity of occupying it, in order to prevent any other nation from ſettling there, and penetrating by this route into their rich poſſeſſions in Peru. But except at Buenos-Ayres, they have made no ſettlement of any conſequence in all the vaſt ſpace which I have mentioned. There are indeed, ſcattered over it, a few places on which they

they have beſtowed the name of towns, and to which they have endeavoured to add ſome dignity, by erecting them into biſhoprics; but they are no better than paltry villages, each with two or three hundred inhabitants. One circumſtance, however, which was not originally foreſeen, has contributed to render this diſtrict, though thinly peopled, of conſiderable importance. The province of Tucuman, together with the country to the ſouth of the Plata, inſtead of being covered with wood like other parts of America, forms one extenſive open plain, almoſt without a tree. The ſoil is a deep fertile mould, watered by many ſtreams deſcending from the Andes, and clothed in perpetual verdure. In this rich paſturage, the horſes and cattle imported by the Spaniards from Europe have multiplied to a degree which almoſt exceeds belief. This has enabled the inhabitants not only to open a lucrative trade with Peru, by ſupplying it with cattle, horſes, and mules, but to carry on a commerce no leſs beneficial, by the exportation of hides to Europe. From both, the colony has derived great advantages. But its commodious ſituation for carrying on contraband trade, has been the chief ſource of its proſperity. While the court of Madrid adhered to its ancient ſyſtem, with reſpect to its

BOOK VII.

communication with America, the river De la Plata lay ſo much out of the courſe of Spaniſh navigation, that interlopers, almoſt without any riſk of being either obſerved or obſtructed, could pour in European manufactures in ſuch quantities, that they not only ſupplied the wants of the colony, but were conveyed into all the eaſtern diſtricts of Peru. When the Portugueſe in Braſil extended their ſettlements to the banks of Rio de la Plata, a new channel was opened, by which prohibited commodities flowed into the Spaniſh territories, with ſtill more facility, and in greater abundance. This illegal traffic, however detrimental to the parent ſtate, contributed to the increaſe of the ſettlement, which had the immediate benefit of it, and Buenos-Ayres became gradually a populous and opulent town. What may be the effect of the alteration lately made in the government of this colony, the nature of which ſhall be deſcribed in the ſubſequent Book, cannot hitherto be known.

Other territories of Spain.

ALL the other territories of Spain in the New World, the iſlands excepted, of whoſe diſcovery and reduction I have formerly given an account, are comprehended under two great diviſions; the former denominated the kingdom of Tierra Firmé, the provinces of which

ſtretch along the Atlantic, from the eaſtern frontier of New Spain to the mouth of the Orinoco; the latter, the New Kingdom of Granada, ſituated in the interior country. With a ſhort view of theſe I ſhall cloſe this part of my work. BOOK VII.

To the eaſt of Veragua, the laſt province ſubject to the viceroy of Mexico, lies the iſthmus of Darien. Though it was in this part of the continent that the Spaniards firſt began to plant colonies, they have made no conſiderable progreſs in peopling it. As the country is extremely mountainous, deluged with rain during a good part of the year, remarkably unhealthful, and contains no mines of great value, the Spaniards would probably have abandoned it altogether, if they had not been allured to continue by the excellence of the harbour of Porto-bello on the one ſea, and that of Panama on the other. Theſe have been called the keys to the communication between the north and ſouth ſea, between Spain and her moſt valuable colonies. In conſequence of this advantage, Panama has become a conſiderable and thriving town. The peculiar noxiouſneſs of its climate has prevented Porto-bello from increaſing in the ſame proportion. As the intercourſe with the Darien.

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ſettlements in the Pacific Ocean is now carried on by another channel, it is probable that both Porto-bello and Panama will decline, when no longer nouriſhed and enriched by that commerce to which they were indebted for their proſperity, and even their exiſtence.

Carthagena and Santa Mertha.

THE provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha ſtretch to the eaſtward of the iſthmus of Darien. The country ſtill continues mountainous, but its vallies begin to expand, are well watered, and extremely fertile. Pedro de Heredia ſubjected this part of America to the crown of Spain, about the year 1532. It is thinly peopled, and of courſe ill cultivated. It produces, however, a variety of valuable drugs, and ſome precious ſtones, particularly emeralds. But its chief importance is derived from the harbour of Carthagena, the ſafeſt and beſt fortified of any in the American dominions of Spain. In a ſituation ſo favourable, commerce ſoon began to flouriſh. As early as the year 1544, it ſeems to have been a town of ſome note. But when Carthagena was choſen as the port in which the galeons ſhould firſt begin to trade on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were directed to return, in order to prepare for their

their voyage homeward, the commerce of its inhabitants was ſo much favoured by this arrangement, that it ſoon became one of the moſt populous, opulent, and beautiful cities in America. There is, however, reaſon to apprehend, that it has reached its higheſt point of exaltation, and that it will be ſo far affected by the change in the Spaniſh ſyſtem of trade with America, which has withdrawn from it the deſirable viſits of the galeons, as to feel at leaſt a temporary decline. But the wealth now collected there, will ſoon find or create employment for itſelf, and may be turned with advantage into ſome new channel. Its harbour is ſo ſafe, and ſo conveniently ſituated for receiving commodities from Europe, its merchants have been ſo long accuſtomed to convey theſe into all the adjacent provinces, that it is probable they will ſtill retain this branch of trade, and Carthagena continue to be a city of great importance.

Venezuela.

THE province contiguous to Santa Martha on the eaſt, was firſt viſited by Alonſo de Ojeda, in the year 1499[u]; and the Spaniards, on their landing there, having obſerved ſome

[u] Book ii. vol. i. p. 209.

huts

BOOK VII. huts in an Indian village built upon piles, in order to raiſe them above the ſtagnated water which covered the plain, were led to beſtow upon it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice, by their uſual propenſity to find a reſemblance between what they diſcovered in America, and the objects which were familiar to them in Europe. They made ſome attempts to ſettle there, but with little ſucceſs. The final reduction of the province was accompliſhed by means very different from thoſe to which Spain was indebted for its other acquiſitions in the New World. The ambition of Charles V. often engaged him in operations of ſuch variety and extent, that his revenues were not ſufficient to defray the expence of carrying them into execution. Among other expedients for ſupplying the deficiency of his funds, he had borrowed large ſums from the Velſers of Augſburgh, the moſt opulent merchants at that time in Europe. By way of retribution for theſe, or in hopes, perhaps, of obtaining a new loan, he beſtowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief from the crown of Caſtile, on condition that within a limited time they ſhould render themſelves maſters of the country, and eſtabliſh a colony there. Under the direction of ſuch perſons,

it

it might have been expected, that a ſettlement would have been eſtabliſhed on maxims very different from thoſe of the Spaniards, and better calculated to encourage ſuch uſeful induſtry, as mercantile proprietors might have known to be the moſt certain ſource of proſperity and opulence. But unfortunately they committed the execution of their plan to ſome of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune with which Germany abounded in the ſixteenth century. Theſe adventurers, impatient to amaſs riches, that they might ſpeedily abandon a ſtation which they ſoon diſcovered to be very uncomfortable, inſtead of planting a colony in order to cultivate and improve the country, wandered from diſtrict to diſtrict in ſearch of mines, plundering the natives with unfeeling rapacity, or oppreſſing them by the impoſition of intolerable taſks. In the courſe of a few years, their avarice and exactions, in compariſon with which thoſe of the Spaniards were moderate, deſolated the province ſo completely, that it could hardly afford them ſubſiſtence, and the Velſers relinquiſhed a property from which the inconſiderate conduct of their agents left them no hope of ever deriving any advantage[w]. When the wretched BOOK VII.

[w] Civedo y Bagnos Hiſt. de Venezuela, p. 11, &c.

remainder

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remainder of the Germans deſerted Venezuela, the Spaniards again took poſſeſſion of it; but notwithſtanding many natural advantages, it is one of their moſt languiſhing and unproductive ſettlements.

Caraccas and Cumana.

THE provinces of Caraccas and Cumana are the laſt of the Spaniſh territories on this coaſt; but in relating the origin and operations of the mercantile company, in which an excluſive right of trade with them has been veſted, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to conſider their ſtate and productions.

New Kingdom of Granada.

THE New Kingdom of Granada is entirely an inland country of great extent. This important addition was made to the dominions of Spain about the year 1536, by Sebaſtian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Queſada, two of the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed officers employed in the conqueſt of America. The former, who commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the ſouth; the latter made his invaſion from Santa Martha on the north. As the original inhabitants of this region were farther advanced in improvement, than any people in America but the Mexicans and Peruvians[x], they defended themſelves with

[x] Book iv. vol. ii. p. 141, &c.

great

great reſolution and good conduct. The abilities and perſeverance of Benalcazar and Queſada ſurmounted all oppoſition, though not without encountering many dangers, and reduced the country into the form of a Spaniſh province.

THE New Kingdom of Granada is ſo far elevated above the level of the ſea, that though it approaches almoſt to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. The fertility of its vallies is not inferior to that of the richeſt diſtricts in America, and its higher grounds yield gold and precious ſtones of various kinds. It is not by digging into the bowels of the earth that this gold is found; it is mingled with the ſoil near the ſurface, and ſeparated from it by repeated waſhing with water. This operation is carried on wholly by negro ſlaves; for though the chill ſubterranean air has been diſcovered, by experience, to be ſo fatal to them, that they cannot be employed with advantage in the deep ſilver mines, they are more capable of performing the other ſpecies of labour than Indians. As the natives in the New Kingdom of Granada are exempt from that ſervice, which has waſted their race ſo rapidly in other parts of America, the country is ſtill remarkably populous. Some diſtricts

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yield gold with a profuſion no leſs wonderful than that in the vale of Cineguilla, which I have formerly mentioned, and it is often found in large *pepitas*, or grains, which manifeſt the abundance in which it is produced. On a riſing ground near Pamplona, ſingle labourers have collected in a day what was equal in value to a thouſand peſos [y]. A late governor of Santa Fé brought with him to Spain a lump of pure gold, eſtimated to be worth ſeven hundred and forty pounds ſterling. This, which is, perhaps, the largeſt and fineſt ſpecimen ever found in the New World, is now depoſited in the royal cabinet of Madrid. But without founding any calculation on what is rare and extraordinary, the value of the gold uſually collected in this country, particularly in the provinces of Popayan and Choco is of conſiderable amount. Its towns are populous and flouriſhing. The number of inhabitants in almoſt every part of the country daily increaſes. Cultivation and induſtry of various kinds begin to be encouraged, and to proſper. A conſiderable trade is carried on with Carthagena, the produce of the mines, and other commodities, being conveyed down the great river of St. Magdalen to that city. On another

[y] Piedrahita Hiſt. del N. Reyno, p. 481. MS. penes me.

quarter,

quarter, the New Kingdom of Granada has a communication with the Atlantic by the river Orinoco; but the country which ſtretches along its banks towards the eaſt, is little known; and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards.

NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE I. p. 4.

DE SOLIS contends, that as Narvaez had no interpreters, he could hold no intercourſe with the people of the provinces, nor converſe with them in any way but by ſigns, and that it was equally impoſſible for him to carry on any communication with Montezuma. Lib. iv. c. 7. But it is upon the authority of Cortes himſelf, that I relate all the particulars of Narvaez's correſpondence both with Montezuma and with his ſubjects in the maritime provinces. Relat. Ramuſ. iii. 244, A. C. Cortes affirms, that there was a mode of intercourſe between Narvaez and the Mexicans, but does not explain how it was carried on. Bernal Diaz ſupplies this defect, and informs us, that the three deſerters who joined Narvaez acted as interpreters, having acquired a competent knowledge of the language, c. 110. With his uſual minuteneſs, he mentions their names and characters, and relates, in chapter 122, how they were puniſhed for their perfidy. The Spaniards had now reſided above a year among the Mexicans; and it is not ſurpriſing, that ſeveral

among them ſhould have made ſome proficiency in ſpeaking their language. This ſeems to have been the caſe. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 1. Both B. Diaz, who was preſent, and Herrera, the moſt accurate and beſt informed of all the Spaniſh writers, agree with Cortes in his account of the ſecret correſpondence carried on with Montezuma. Dec. 2. lib. x. c. 18, 19. De Solis ſeems to conſider it as a diſcredit to Cortes, his hero, that Montezuma ſhould have been ready to engage in a correſpondence with Narvaez. He ſuppoſes that monarch to have contracted ſuch a wonderful affection for the Spaniards, that he was not ſolicitous to be delivered from them. After the indignity with which he had been treated, ſuch an affection is incredible; and even De Solis is obliged to acknowledge, that it muſt be looked upon as one of the miracles which God had wrought to facilitate the conqueſt, lib. iv. c. 7. The truth is, Montezuma, however much overawed by his dread of the Spaniards, was extremely impatient to recover his liberty.

NOTE II. p. 23.

THESE words I have borrowed from the anonymous Account of the European Settlements in America, publiſhed by Dodſley, in two volumes 8vo.; a work of ſo much merit, that I ſhould think there is hardly any writer in the age who ought to be aſhamed of acknowledging himſelf to be the author of it.

NOTE

NOTE III. p. 30.

THE contemporary hiſtorians differ conſiderably with reſpect to the loſs of the Spaniards on this occaſion. Cortes, in his ſecond diſpatch to the Emperor, makes the number only 150. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. p. 249, A. But it was manifeſtly his intereſt, at that juncture, to conceal from the court of Spain the full extent of the loſs which he had ſuſtained. De Solis, always ſtudious to diminiſh every misfortune that befel his countrymen, rates their loſs at about two hundred men. Lib. iv. c. 19. B. Diaz affirms, that they loſt 870 men, and that only 440 eſcaped from Mexico, c. 128. p. 108. B. Palafox, Biſhop of Los Angeles, who ſeems to have inquired into the early tranſactions of his countrymen in New Spain, with great attention, confirms the account of B. Diaz, with reſpect to the extent of their loſs. Virtudes del Indio, p. 22. Gomara ſtates their loſs at 450 men. Cron. c. 109. Some months afterwards, when Cortes had received ſeveral reinforcements, he muſtered his troops, and found them to be only 590. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. p. 255, E. Now, as Narvaez brought 880 men into New Spain, and about 400 of Cortes's ſoldiers were then alive, it is evident that his loſs, in the retreat from Mexico, muſt have been much more conſiderable than what he mentions. B. Diaz, ſolicitous to magnify the dangers and ſufferings to which he and his fellow-conquerors were expoſed, may have exaggerated their loſs; but, in my opinion, it cannot well be eſtimated at leſs than 600 men.

NOTE IV. p. 56.

Some remains of this great work are ſtill viſible, and the ſpot where the brigantines were built and launched, is ſtill pointed out to ſtrangers. Torquemada viewed them. Monarq. Indiana, vol. i. p. 531.

NOTE V. p. 65.

The ſtation of Alvarado on the cauſeway of Tacuba was the neareſt to the city. Cortes obſerves, that there they could diſtinctly obſerve what paſſed when their countrymen were ſacrificed. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. p. 273, E. B. Diaz, who belonged to Alvarado's diviſion, relates what he beheld with his own eyes. C. 152. p. 148, b. 149, a. Like a man whoſe courage was ſo clear as to be above ſuſpicion, he deſcribes with his uſual ſimplicity the impreſſion which this ſpectacle made upon him. "Before, ſays he, I ſaw the breaſts of my companions opened, their hearts, yet fluttering, offered to an accurſed idol, and their fleſh devoured by their exulting enemies; I was accuſtomed to enter a battle not only without fear, but with high ſpirit. But from that time I never advanced to fight the Mexicans without a ſecret horror and anxiety; my heart trembled at the thoughts of the death which I had ſeen them ſuffer." He takes care to add, that as ſoon as the combat began, his terror went off; and indeed, his adventurous bravery on every occaſion is full evidence of this. B. Diaz, c. 156. p. 157, a.

NOTE

NOTE VI. p. 73.

One circumſtance in this ſiege merits particular notice. The account which the Spaniſh writers give of the numerous armies employed in the attack or defence of Mexico ſeems to be incredible. According to Cortes himſelf, he had at one time 150,000 auxiliary Indians in his ſervice. Relat. Ramuſ. iii. 275, E. Gomara aſſerts, that they were above 200,000. Cron. c. 136. Herrera, an author of higher authority, ſays, they were about 200,000. Dec. 3. lib. i. c. 19. None of the contemporary writers aſcertain explicitly the number of perſons in Mexico during the ſiege. But Cortes on ſeveral occaſions mentions the number of Mexicans who were ſlain, or who periſhed for want of food; and, if we may rely on thoſe circumſtances, it is probable that above two hundred thouſand muſt have been ſhut up in the town. But the quantity of proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of ſuch vaſt multitudes aſſembled in one place, during three months, is ſo great, that it requires ſo much foreſight and arrangement to collect theſe, and lay them up in magazines, ſo as to be certain of a regular ſupply, that one can hardly believe that this could be accompliſhed in a country where agriculture was ſo imperfect as in the Mexican empire, where there were no tame animals, and by a people naturally ſo improvident, and ſo incapable of executing a complicated plan, as the moſt improved Americans. The Spaniards, with all their care and attention, fared very poorly, and were often reduced to extreme diſtreſs for want of proviſions. B. Diaz, p. 142. Cortes Relat.

271, D. Cortes on one occaſion mentions ſlightly the ſubſiſtence of his army; and after acknowledging that they were often in great want, adds, that they received ſupplies from the people of the country, of fiſh, and of ſome fruit, which he calls the cherries of the country. Ibid. B. Diaz ſays, that they had cakes of maize, and ſeraſas de la tierra; and when the ſeaſon of theſe was over, another fruit, which he calls *Tunas*; but their moſt comfortable ſubſiſtence was a root which the Indians uſe as food, to which he gives the name of *Quilites*, p. 142. The Indian auxiliaries had one means of ſubſiſtence more than the Spaniards. They fed upon the bodies of the Mexicans whom they killed in battle. Cort. Relat. 176, C. B. Diaz confirms his relation, and adds, that when the Indians returned from Mexico to their own country, they carried with them large quantities of the fleſh of the Mexicans ſalted or dried, as a moſt acceptable preſent to their friends, that they might have the pleaſure of feeding upon the bodies of their enemies in their feſtivals, p. 157. De Solis, who ſeems to conſider it as an imputation of diſcredit to his countrymen, that they ſhould act in concert with auxiliaries who fed upon human fleſh, is ſolicitous to prove that the Spaniards endeavoured to prevent their aſſociates from eating the bodies of the Mexicans, lib. v. c. 24. But he has no authority for this from the original hiſtorians. Neither Cortes himſelf, nor B. Diaz, ſeem to have had any ſuch ſcruple; and, on many occaſions, mention the Indian repaſts, which were become familiar to them, without any mark of abhorrence. Even with this additional ſtock of food for the Indians, it was hardly poſſible to procure ſubſiſtence for armies amounting

amounting to ſuch numbers as we find in the Spaniſh writers. Perhaps the beſt ſolution of the difficulty is, to adopt the opinion of B. Diaz del Caſtillo, the moſt artleſs of all the *Hiſtoriadores primitivos*. "When Gomara (ſays he) on ſome occaſions relates, that there were ſo many thouſand Indians our auxiliaries, and on others, that there were ſo many thouſand houſes in this or that town, no regard is to be paid to his enumeration, as he has no authority for it, the numbers not being in reality the fifth of what he relates. If we add together the different numbers which he mentions, that country would contain more millions than there are in Caſtile." C. 129. But though ſome conſiderable deduction ſhould certainly be made from the Spaniſh accounts of the Mexican forces, they muſt have been very numerous; for nothing but an immenſe ſuperiority in number could have enabled them to withſtand a body of nine hundred Spaniards, conducted by a leader of ſuch abilities as Cortes.

NOTE VII. p. 92.

In relating the oppreſſive and cruel proceedings of the conquerors of New Spain, I have not followed B. de las Caſas as my guide. His account of them, Relat. de la Deſtruyc. p. 18, &c. it is manifeſtly exaggerated. It is from the teſtimony of Cortes himſelf, and of Gomara, who wrote under his eye, that I have taken my account of the puniſhment of the Panucans, and they relate it without any diſapprobation. B. Diaz, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, mentions it only in general terms, c. 162. Herrera, ſolicitous to extenuate this barbarous action of his

countrymen, though he mentions 63 caziques, and 400 men of note, as being condemned to the flames, aſſerts, that thirty only were burnt, and the reſt pardoned. Dec. 3. lib. v. c. 7. But this is contrary to the teſtimony of the original hiſtorians, particularly of Gomara, whom it appears he had conſulted, as he adopts ſeveral of his expreſſions in this paſſage. The puniſhment of Guatimozin is related by the moſt authentic of the Spaniſh writers. Torquemada has extracted from a hiſtory of Tezeuco, compoſed in the Mexican tongue, an account of this tranſaction, more favourable to Guatimozin than that of the Spaniſh authors. Mon. Indiana, i. 575. According to the Mexican account, Cortes had ſcarcely a ſhadow of evidence to juſtify ſuch a wanton act of cruelty. B. Diaz affirms, that Guatimozin and his fellow-ſufferers aſſerted their innocence with their laſt breath, and that many of the Spaniſh ſoldiers condemned this action of Cortes as equally unneceſſary and unjuſt, p. 200, b. 201, a.

NOTE VIII. p. 95.

The motive for undertaking this expedition was, to puniſh Chriſtoval de Olid, one of his officers who had revolted againſt him, and aimed at eſtabliſhing an independent juriſdiction. Cortes regarded this inſurrection as of ſuch dangerous example, and dreaded ſo much the abilities and popularity of its author, that in perſon he led the body of troops deſtined to ſuppreſs it. He marched, according to Gomara, three thouſand miles, through a country abounding with thick foreſts, rugged mountains, deep rivers, thinly inhabited, and cultivated

cultivated only in a few places. What he ſuffered from famine, from the hoſtility of the natives, from the climate, and from hardſhips of every ſpecies, has nothing in hiſtory parallel to it, but what occurs in the adventures of the other diſcoverers and conquerors of the New World. Cortes was employed in this dreadful ſervice above two years; and though it was not diſtinguiſhed by any ſplendid event, he exhibited, during the courſe of it, greater perſonal courage, more fortitude of mind, more perſeverance and patience, than in any other period or ſcene in his life. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. vii. viii. ix. Gomara Cron. c. 163. — 177. B. Diaz, 174. — 190. Cortes, MS. *penes me.* Were one to write a life of Cortes, the account of this expedition ſhould occupy a ſplendid place in it. In a general hiſtory of America, as the expedition was productive of no great event, the mention of it is ſufficient.

NOTE IX. p. 97.

ACCORDING to Herrera, the treaſure which Cortes brought with him, conſiſted of fifteen hundred marks of wrought plate, two hundred thouſand peſos of fine gold, and ten thouſand of inferior ſtandard, many rich jewels, one in particular worth forty thouſand peſos, and ſeveral trinkets and ornaments of value. Dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 8. lib. iv. c. 1. He afterwards engaged to give a portion with his daughter of a hundred thouſand peſos. Gomara Cron. c. 237. The fortune which he left his ſons was very conſiderable. But as we have before related, the ſum divided among the conquerors, on the firſt reduction of Mexico, was

very

very ſmall. There appears then to be ſome reaſon for ſuſpecting that the accuſations of Cortes's enemies were not altogether deſtitute of foundation. They charged him with having applied to his own uſe a diſproportionate ſhare of the Mexican ſpoils; with having concealed the royal treaſures of Montezuma and Gautimozin; with defrauding the King of his fifth; and robbing his followers of what was due to them. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 15. dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 8. Some of the conquerors themſelves entertained ſuſpicions of the ſame kind with reſpect to this part of his conduct. B. Diaz, c. 157.

NOTE X. p. 104.

In tracing the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms in New Spain, we have followed Cortes himſelf as our moſt certain guide. His diſpatches to the Emperor contain a minute account of his operations. But the unlettered conqueror of Peru was incapable of relating his own exploits. Our information with reſpect to them, and other tranſactions in Peru, is derived, however, from contemporary and reſpectable authors.

The moſt early account of Pizarro's tranſactions in Peru was publiſhed by Franciſco de Xerez, his ſecretary. It is a ſimple unadorned narrative, carried down no farther than the death of Atahualpa, in 1533; for the author returned to Spain in 1534, and, ſoon after he landed, printed at Seville his ſhort Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Peru, addreſſed to the Emperor.

Don Pedro Sancho, an officer who ſurvived under Pizarro, drew up an account of his expedition, which was tranſlated into Italian by Ramuſio, and inſerted in his valuable collection, but has never been publiſhed in its original language Sancho returned to Spain at the ſame time with Xerez. Great credit is due to what both theſe authors relate concerning the progreſs and operations of Pizarro; but the reſidence of the Spaniards in Peru had been ſo ſhort, at the time when they left it, and their intercourſe with the natives ſo ſlender, that their knowledge of the Peruvian manners and cuſtoms is very imperfect.

The next contemporary hiſtorian is Pedro Cieza de Leon, who publiſhed his Cronica del Peru, at Seville, in 1553. If he had finiſhed all that he propoſes in the general diviſion of his work, it would have been the moſt complete hiſtory which had been publiſhed of any region in the New World. He was well qualified to execute it, having ſerved during ſeventeen years in America, and having viſited in perſon moſt of the provinces concerning which he had occaſion to write. But only the firſt part of his chronicle has been printed. It contains a deſcription of Peru, and ſeveral of the adjacent provinces, with an account of the inſtitutions and cuſtoms of the natives, and is written with ſo little art, and ſuch an apparent regard for truth, that one muſt regret the loſs of the other parts of his work.

This loſs is amply ſupplied by Don Auguſtine Zaratè, who publiſhed, in 1555, his Hiſtoria del Deſcubrimiento y Conqueſta de la Provincia del Peru.

Zaratè

Zaratè was a man of rank and education, and employed in Peru as comptroller-general of the public revenue. His hiſtory, whether we attend to its matter or compoſition, is a book of conſiderable merit; as he had an opportunity to be well informed, and ſeems to have been inquiſitive with reſpect to the manners and tranſactions of the Peruvians, great credit is due to his teſtimony.

Don Diego Fernandez publiſhed his Hiſtoria del Peru in 1571. His ſole object is to relate the diſſentions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that empire. As he ſerved in a public ſtation in Peru, and was well acquainted both with the country, and with the principal actors in thoſe ſingular ſcenes which he deſcribes, as he poſſeſſed ſound underſtanding and great impartiality, his work may be ranked among thoſe of the hiſtorians moſt diſtinguiſhed for their induſtry in reſearch, or their capacity in judging with reſpect to the events which they relate.

The laſt author who can be reckoned among the contemporary hiſtorians of the conqueſt of Peru, is Garcilaſſo de la Vega, Inca. For though the firſt part of his work, intitled *Commentarios Reales del Origin de los Incas Reies del Peru*, was not publiſhed ſooner than the year 1609, ſeventy-ſix years after the death of Atahualpa the laſt Emperor, yet as he was born in Peru, and was the ſon of an officer of diſtinction among the Spaniſh conquerors, by a *Coya*, or lady of the royal race, on account of which he always took the name of Inca; as he was maſter of the language ſpoken by the Incas, and acquainted

acquainted with the traditions of his countrymen, his authority is rated very high, and often placed above that of all the other hiſtorians. His work, however, is little more than a commentary upon the Spaniſh writers of the Peruvian ſtory, and compoſed of quotations taken from the authors whom I have mentioned. This is the idea which he himſelf gives of it, lib. i. c. 10. Nor is it in the account of facts only that he follows them ſervilely. Even in explaining the inſtitutions and rites of his anceſtors, his information ſeems not to be more perfect than theirs. His explanation of the Quipos is almoſt the ſame with that of Acoſta. He produces no ſpecimen of Peruvian poetry, but that wretched one which he borrows from Blas Valera, an early miſſionary, whoſe memoirs have never been publiſhed. Lib. ii. c. 15. As for compoſition, arrangement, or a capacity of diſtinguiſhing between what is fabulous, what is probable, and what is true, one ſearches for them in vain in the commentaries of the Inca. His work, however, notwithſtanding its great defects, is not altogether deſtitute of uſe. Some traditions which he received from his countrymen are preſerved in it. His knowledge of the Peruvian language has enabled him to correct ſome errors of the Spaniſh writers, and he has inſerted in it ſome curious facts taken from authors whoſe works were never publiſhed, and are now loſt.

NOTE XI. p. 110.

One may form an idea both of the hardſhips which they endured, and of the unhealthful climate in the regions which they viſited, from the extraordinary

mortality that prevailed among them. Pizarro carried out 112 men, Almagro 70. In leſs than nine months 130 of theſe died. Few fell by the ſword; moſt of them were cut off by diſeaſes. Xerez, p. 180.

NOTE XII. p. 114.

This iſland, ſays Herrera, is rendered ſo uncomfortable by the unwholeſomeneſs of its climate, its impenetrable woods, its rugged mountains, and the multitude of inſects and reptiles, that it is ſeldom any ſofter epithet than that of *infernal* is employed in deſcribing it. The ſun is almoſt never ſeen there, and throughout the year it hardly ever ceaſes to rain. Dec. 3. lib. x. c. 3. Dampier touched at this iſland in the year 1685; and his account of the climate is not more favourable. Vol. i. p. 172. He, during his cruiſe on the coaſt, viſited moſt of the places where Pizarro landed, and his deſcription of them throws light on the narrations of the early Spaniſh hiſtorians.

NOTE XIII. p. 135.

By this time horſes had multiplied greatly in the Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent. When Cortes began his expedition in the year 1518, though his armament was more conſiderable than that of Pizarro, and compoſed of perſons ſuperior in rank to thoſe who invaded Peru, he could procure no more than ſixteen horſes.

NOTE

NOTE XIV. p. 136.

In the year 1740, D. Ant. Ulloa, and D. George Juan, travelled from Guayquil to Motupe, by the ſame route which Pizarro took. From the deſcription of their journey, one may form an idea of the difficulty of his march. The ſandy plains between St. Michael de Pieura and Motupe extend 90 miles, without water, without a tree, a plant, or any green thing, on a dreary ſtretch of burning ſand. Voyage, tom. i. p. 399, &c.

NOTE XV. p. 143.

This extravagant and unſeaſonable diſcourſe of Valverde has been cenſured by all hiſtorians, and with juſtice. But though he ſeems to have been an illiterate and bigoted monk, nowiſe reſembling the good Olmedo, who accompanied Cortes; the abſurdity of his addreſs to Atahualpa muſt not be charged wholly upon him. His harangue is evidently a tranſlation or paraphraſe of that form, concerted by a junto of Spaniſh divines and lawyers in the year 1509, for explaining the right of their King to the ſovereignty of the New World, and for directing the officers employed in America how they ſhould take poſſeſſion of any new country. See Vol. i. Note xxiii. The ſentiments contained in Valverde's harangue muſt not then be imputed to the bigoted imbecility of a particular man, but to that of the age. But Gomara and Benzoni relate one circumſtance concerning Valverde, which, if authentic, renders him an object, not of contempt

contempt only, but of horror. They aſſert, that during the whole action, Valverde continued to excite the ſoldiers to ſlaughter, calling to them to ſtrike the enemy, not with the edge, but with the points of their ſwords. Gom. Chron. c. 113. Benz. Hiſtor. Nov. Orbis, lib. iii. c. 3. Such behaviour was very different from that of the Roman Catholic clergy in other parts of America, where they uniformly exerted their influence to protect the Indians, and to moderate the ferocity of their countrymen.

NOTE XVI. p. 144.

Two different ſyſtems have been formed concerning the conduct of Atahualpa. The Spaniſh writers, in order to juſtify the violence of their countrymen, contend, that all the Inca's profeſſions of friendſhip were feigned; and that his intention in agreeing to an interview with Pizarro at Caxamalca, was to cut off him and his followers at one blow; that for this purpoſe he advanced with ſuch a numerous body of attendants, who had arms concealed under their garments, to execute this ſcheme. This is the account given by Xerez and Zaratè, and adopted by Herrera. But if it had been the plan of the Inca to deſtroy the Spaniards, one can hardly imagine that he would have permitted them to march unmoleſted through the deſert of Motupe, or have neglected to defend the paſſes in the mountains, where they might have been attacked with ſo much advantage. If the Peruvians marched to Caxamalca with an intention to fall upon the Spaniards, it is inconceivable, that of ſo great a body of men, prepared for action, not one ſhould attempt

attempt to make reſiſtance, but all tamely ſuffer themſelves to be butchered by an enemy whom they were armed to attack. Atahualpa's mode of advancing to the interview has the aſpect of a peaceable proceſſion, not of a military enterpriſe. He himſelf and his followers were, in their habits of ceremony, preceded, as on days of ſolemnity, by unarmed harbingers. Though rude nations are frequently cunning and falſe, yet, if a ſcheme of deception and treachery muſt be imputed either to a monarch, that had no great reaſon to be alarmed at a viſit from ſtrangers who ſolicited admiſſion into his preſence as friends, or to an adventurer ſo daring, and ſo little ſcrupulous as Pizarro, one cannot heſitate in determining where to fix the preſumption of guilt. Even amidſt the endeavours of the Spaniſh writers to palliate the proceedings of Pizarro, one plainly perceives that it was his intention, as well as his intereſt, to ſeize the Inca, and that he had taken meaſures for that purpoſe previous to any ſuſpicion of that monarch's deſigns.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, extremely ſolicitous to vindicate his countrymen, the Peruvians, from the crime of having concerted the deſtruction of Pizarro and his followers, and no leſs afraid to charge the Spaniards with improper conduct towards the Inca, has framed another ſyſtem. He relates, that a man of majeſtic form, with a long beard, and garments reaching to the ground, having appeared in a viſion to Viracocha, the eighth Inca, and declared that he was a child of the Sun, that monarch built a temple in honour of this perſon, and erected an image of him, reſembling as nearly as poſſible the ſingular form in

which he had exhibited himſelf to his view. In this temple divine honours were paid to him, by the name of Viracocha. P. i. lib. iv. c. 21. lib. v. c. 22. When the Spaniards firſt appeared in Peru, the length of their beards, and the dreſs they wore ſtruck every perſon ſo much with their likeneſs to the image of Viracocha, that they ſuppoſed them to be children of the Sun, who had deſcended from heaven to earth. All concluded, that the fatal period of the Peruvian empire was now approaching, and that the throne would be occupied by new poſſeſſors. Atahualpa himſelf, conſidering the Spaniards as meſſengers from heaven, was ſo far from entertaining any thoughts of reſiſting them, that he determined to yield implicit obedience to their commands. From theſe ſentiments flowed his profeſſions of love and reſpect. To thoſe were owing the cordial reception of Soto and Ferdinand Pizarro in his camp, and the ſubmiſſive reverence with which he himſelf advanced to viſit the Spaniſh general in his quarters; but from the groſs ignorance of Philipillo, the interpreter, the declaration of the Spaniards, and his anſwer to it, were ſo ill explained, that by their mutual inability to comprehend each other's intentions, the fatal rencounter at Caxamalca, with all its dreadful conſequences, was occaſioned.

It is remarkable, that no traces of this ſuperſtitious veneration of the Peruvians for the Spaniards, are to be found either in Xerez, or Sancho, or Zaratè, previous to the interview at Caxamalca; and yet the two former ſerved under Pizarro at that time, and the latter viſited Peru ſoon after the conqueſt. If either

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the Inca himſelf, or his meſſengers, had addreſſed the Spaniards in the words which Garcilaſſo puts in their mouths, they muſt have been ſtruck with ſuch ſubmiſſive declarations; and they would certainly have availed themſelves of them to accompliſh their own deſigns with greater facility. Garcilaſſo himſelf, though his narrative of the intercourſe between the Inca and Spaniards, preceding the rencounter at Caxamalca, is founded on the ſuppoſition of his believing them to be Viracochas, or divine beings, p. ii. lib. i. c. 17, &c., yet with his uſual inattention and inaccuracy, he admits, in another place, that the Peruvians did not recollect the reſemblance between them and the god Viracocha, until the fatal diſaſters ſubſequent to the defeat at Caxamalca, and then only began to call them Viracochas. P. i. lib. v. c. 21. This is confirmed by Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 12. In many different parts of America, if we may believe the Spaniſh writers, their countrymen were conſidered as divine beings who had deſcended from heaven. But in this inſtance, as in many which occur in the intercourſe between nations whoſe progreſs in refinement is very unequal, the ideas of thoſe who uſed the expreſſion were different from the ideas of thoſe who heard it. For ſuch is the idiom of the Indian languages, or ſuch is the ſimplicity of thoſe who ſpeak them, that when they ſee any thing with which they were formerly unacquainted, and of which they do not know the origin, they ſay, that it came down from heaven. Nugnez. Ram. iii. 327, C.

THE account which I have given of the ſentiments and proceedings of the Peruvians, appears to be more

natural and conſiſtent than either of the two preceding, and is better ſupported by the facts related by the contemporary hiſtorians.

ACCORDING to Xerez, p. 200, two thouſand Peruvians were killed. Sancho makes the number of the ſlain ſix or ſeven thouſand. Ram. iii. 274, D. By Garcilaſſo's account, five thouſand were maſſacred. P. ii. lib. i. c. 25. The number which I have mentioned, being the medium between the extremes, may probably be neareſt the truth.

NOTE XVII. p. 146.

NOTHING can be a more ſtriking proof of this, than that three Spaniards travelled from Caxamalca to Cuzco. The diſtance between them is ſix hundred miles. In every place throughout this great extent of country, they were treated with all the honours which the Peruvians paid to their ſovereigns, and even to their divinities. Under pretext of amaſſing what was wanting for the ranſom of the Inca, they demanded the plates of gold with which the walls of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco were adorned; and though the prieſts were unwilling to alienate thoſe ſacred ornaments, and the people refuſed to violate the ſhrine of their God, the three Spaniards, with their own hands, robbed the Temple of part of this valuable treaſure; and ſuch was the reverence of the natives for their perſons that though they beheld this act of ſacrilege with aſtoniſhment, they did not attempt to prevent or diſturb the commiſſion of it. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Sancho ap. Ramuſ. iii. 375, D.

NOTE

NOTE XVIII. p. 161.

ACCORDING to Herrera, the ſpoil of Cuzco, after ſetting apart the King's *fifth*, was divided among 480 perſons. Each received 4000 peſos. This amounts to 1,920,000 peſos. Dec. v. lib. vi. c. 3. But as the general, and other officers, were entitled to a ſhare far greater than that of the private men, the ſum total muſt have riſen much beyond what I have mentioned. Gomara, c. 123. and Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. ſatisfy themſelves with aſſerting in general, that the plunder of Cuzco was of greater value than the ranſom of Atahualpa.

NOTE XIX. p. 164.

No expedition in the New World was conducted with more perſevering courage than that of Alvarado, and in none were greater hardſhips endured. Many of the perſons engaged in it were, like their leader, veterans who had ſerved under Cortes, inured to all the rigour of American war. Such of my readers as have not an opportunity of peruſing the ſtriking deſcription of their ſufferings by Zarate or Herrera, may form ſome idea of the nature of their march from the ſea-coaſt to Quito, by conſulting the account which D. Ant. Ulloa gives of his own journey in 1736, nearly in the ſame route. Voy. tom. i. p. 178, &c., or that of M. Bouguer, who proceeded from Puerto Viejo, to Quito, by the ſame road which Alvarado took. He compares his own journey with that of the Spaniſh leader, and by the compariſon gives a

moſt ſtriking idea of the boldneſs and patience of Alvarado, in forcing his way through ſo many obſtacles. Voyage du Perou, p. 28, &c.

NOTE XX. p. 165.

ACCORDING to Herrera, there was entered on account of the King in gold 155,300 peſos, and 5400 marks (each 8 ounces) of ſilver, beſides ſeveral veſſels and ornaments, ſome of gold, and others of ſilver; on account of private perſons, in gold 499,000 peſos, and 54,000 marks of ſilver. Dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

NOTE XXI. p. 175.

THE Peruvians not only imitated the military arts of the Spaniards, but had recourſe to devices of their own. As the cavalry were the chief objects of their terror, they endeavoured to render them incapable of acting by means of a long thong with a ſtone faſtened to each end. This, when thrown by a ſkilful hand, twiſted about the horſe and its rider, and entangled them ſo as to obſtruct their motions. Herrera mentions this as an invention of their own. Dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4. But as I have obſerved, vol. ii. p. 176, this weapon is common among ſeveral barbarous tribes towards the extremity of South America; and it is more probable that the Peruvians had obſerved the dexterity with which they uſed it in hunting, and on this occaſion adopted it themſelves. The Spaniards were conſiderably annoyed by it, Herrera, ibid. Another inſtance of the ingenuity of the Peruvians deſerves mention. By turning a river out of its channel,

channel, they overflowed a valley, in which a body of the enemy was poſted, ſo ſuddenly, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the Spaniards made their eſcape. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 5.

NOTE XXII. p. 198.

HERRERA's account of Orellana's voyage is the moſt minute, and apparently the moſt accurate. It was probably taken from the journal of Orellana himſelf. But the dates are not diſtinctly marked. His navigation down the Coca, or Napo, begun early in February 1541; and he arrived at the mouth of the river on the 26th of Auguſt, having ſpent near ſeven months in the voyage. M. de la Condamine, in the year 1743, ſailed from Cuenca to Para, a ſettlement of the Portugueſe at the mouth of the river, a navigation much longer than that of Orellana, in leſs than four months. Voyage, p. 179. But the two adventurers were very differently provided for the voyage. This hazardous undertaking, to which ambition prompted Orellana, and to which the love of ſcience led M. de la Condamine, was undertaken in the year 1769, by Madame Godin des Odonais, from conjugal affection. The narrative of the hardſhips which ſhe ſuffered, of the dangers to which ſhe was expoſed, and of the diſaſters which befel her, is one of the moſt ſingular and affecting ſtories in any language, exhibiting in her conduct a ſtriking picture of the fortitude which diſtinguiſhes the one ſex, mingled with the ſenſibility and tenderneſs peculiar to the other. Lettre de M. Godin à M. de la Condamine.

NOTE XXIII. p. 203.

HERRERA gives a ſtriking picture of their indigence. Twelve gentlemen who had been officers of diſtinction under Almagro, lodged in the ſame houſe, and having but one cloak among them, it was worn alternately by him who had occaſion to appear in public, while the reſt, from the want of a decent dreſs, were obliged to keep within doors. Their former friends and companions were ſo much afraid of giving offence to Pizarro, that they durſt not entertain or even converſe with them. One may conceive what was the condition, and what the indignation of men once accuſtomed to power and opulence, when they felt themſelves poor and deſpiſed, without a roof under which to ſhelter their heads, while they beheld others, whoſe merit and ſervices were not equal to theirs, living in ſplendour in ſumptuous edifices. Dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 6.

NOTE XXIV. p. 218.

HERRERA, whoſe accuracy entitles him to great credit, aſſerts, that Gonzalo Pizarro poſſeſſed domains in the neighbourhood of Chuquefaca de la Plata, which yielded him an annual revenue greater than that of the Archbiſhop of Toledo, the beſt endowed ſee in Europe. Dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 2.

NOTE

NOTE XXV. p. 253.

ALL the Spaniſh writers deſcribe his march, and the diſtreſſes of both parties, very minutely. Zarate obſerves, that hardly any parallel to it occurs in hiſtory, either with reſpect to the length of the retreat, or the ardour of the purſuit. Pizarro, according to his computation, followed the viceroy upwards of three thouſand miles. Lib. v. c. 16. 26.

NOTE XXVI. p. 253.

IT amounted, according to Fernandez, the beſt informed hiſtorian of that period, to one million four hundred thouſand peſos. Lib. ii. c. 79.

NOTE XXVII. p. 255.

CARVAJAL, from the beginning, had been an advocate for an accommodation with Gaſca. Finding Pizarro incapable of holding that bold courſe which he originally ſuggeſted, he recommended to him a timely ſubmiſſion to his ſovereign as the ſafeſt meaſure. When the preſident's offers were firſt communicated to Carvajal, "By our Lady (ſays he, in that ſtrain of buffoonery which was familiar to him) the prieſt iſſues gracious bulls. He gives them both good and cheap; let us not only accept them, but wear them as reliques about our necks." Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 63.

NOTE

NOTE XXVIII. p. 262.

During the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, ſeven hundred men were killed in battle, and three hundred and eighty were hanged or beheaded. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 4. Above three hundred of theſe were cut off by Carvajal. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 91. Zarate makes the number of thoſe put to a violent death five hundred. Lib. vii. c. i.

NOTE XXIX. p. 271.

In my inquiries concerning the manners and policy of the Mexicans, I have received much information from a large manuſcript of Don Alonſo de Corita, one of the judges in the Court of Audience of Mexico. In the year 1553, Philip II., in order to diſcover the mode of levying tribute from his Indian ſubjects, that would be moſt beneficial to the crown, and leaſt oppreſſive to them, addreſſed a mandate to all the Courts of Audience in America, enjoining them to anſwer certain queries which he propoſed to them, concerning the ancient form of government eſtabliſhed among the various nations of Indians, and the mode in which they had been accuſtomed to pay taxes to their Kings or chiefs. In obedience to this mandate Corita, who had reſided nineteen years in America, fourteen of which he paſſed in New Spain, compoſed the work of which I have a copy. He acquaints his ſovereign, that he had made it an object, during his

his reſidence in America, and in all its provinces which he had viſited, to inquire diligently into the manners and cuſtoms of the natives; that he had converſed for this purpoſe with many aged and intelligent Indians, and conſulted ſeveral of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, who underſtood the Indian languages moſt perfectly, particularly ſome of thoſe who landed in New Spain ſoon after the conqueſt. Corita appears to be a man of ſome learning, and to have carried on his inquiries with the diligence and accuracy to which he pretends. Greater credit is due to his teſtimony from one circumſtance. His work was not compoſed with a view to publication, or in ſupport of any particular theory, but contains ſimple though full anſwers to queries propoſed to him officially. Though Herrera does not mention him among the authors whom he had followed as guides in his hiſtory, I ſhould ſuppoſe, from ſeveral facts of which he takes notice, as well as from ſeveral expreſſions which he uſes, that this memorial of Corita was not unknown to him.

NOTE XXX. p. 285.

THE early Spaniſh writers were ſo haſty and inaccurate in eſtimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns of America, that it is impoſſible to aſcertain that of Mexico itſelf with any degree of preciſion. Cortes deſcribes the extent and populouſneſs of Mexico in general terms, which imply that it was not inferior to the greateſt cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houſes or families in Mexico. Cron. c. 78.

Herrera

Herrera adopts his opinion, Dec. ii. lib. vii. c. 13.; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or ſcruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico muſt have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his uſual propenſity to the marvellous, aſſerts, that there were a hundred and twenty thouſand houſes or families in Mexico, and conſequently about ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire, by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramuſio, iii. 309, A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

NOTE XXXI. p. 290.

It is to P. Torribio de Benavente, that I am indebted for this curious obſervation. Palafox, Biſhop of Ciudad de la Puebla Los Angeles, confirms and illuſtrates it more fully. The Mexican (ſays he) is the only language in which a termination indicating reſpect, *ſilavas reverentiales y de corteſia*, may be affixed to every word. By adding the final ſyllable *zin* or *azin* to any word, it becomes a proper expreſſion of veneration in the mouth of an inferior. If, in ſpeaking to an equal, the word Father is to be uſed, it is *Tatl*, but an inferior ſays Tatzin. One prieſt ſpeaking to another, calls him *Teopixque*; a perſon of inferior rank calls him *Teopixcatzin*. The name of the Emperor who reigned when Cortes invaded Mexico, was *Montezuma*, but his vaſſals, from reverence, pronounced it *Montezumazin*. Torribio, MS. Palaf. Virtudes

tudes del Indio, p. 65. The Mexicans had not only reverential nouns, but reverential verbs. The manner in which theſe are formed from the verbs in common uſe, is explained by D. Joſ. Aug. Aldama y Guevara in his Mexican Grammar, N° 188.

NOTE XXXII. p. 296.

From comparing ſeveral paſſages in Corita and Herrera, we may collect, with ſome degree of accuracy, the various modes in which the Mexicans contributed towards the ſupport of government. Some perſons of the firſt order ſeem to have been exempted from the payment of any tribute, and as their only duty to the public, were bound to perſonal ſervice in war, and to follow the banner of their ſovereign with their vaſſals. 2. The immediate vaſſals of the crown were bound not only to perſonal military ſervice, but paid a certain proportion of the produce of their lands in kind. 3. Thoſe who held offices of honour or truſt, paid a certain ſhare of what they received in conſequence of holding theſe. 4. Each *Capullæ*, or aſſociation, cultivated ſome part of the common field allotted to it, for the behoof of the crown, and depoſited the produce in the royal granaries. 5. Some part of whatever was brought to the public markets, whether fruits of the earth, or the various productions of their artiſts and manufacturers, was demanded for the public uſe, and the merchants who paid this were exempted from every other tax. 6. The *Mayeques*, or *adſcripti glebæ*, were bound to cultivate certain diſtricts in every province, which may be conſidered

as *crown lands*, and brought the increaſe into public ſtorehouſes. Thus the ſovereign received ſome part of whatever was uſeful or valuable in the country, whether it was the natural production of the ſoil, or acquired by the induſtry of the people. What each contributed towards the ſupport of government, ſeems to have been inconſiderable. Corita, in anſwer to one of the queries put to the Audience of Mexico by Philip II., endeavours to eſtimate in money the value of what each citizen might be ſuppoſed to pay, and does not reckon it at more than three or four *reals*, about eighteen pence or two ſhillings a-head.

NOTE XXXIII. p. 297.

Cortes, who ſeems to have been as much aſtoniſhed with this, as with any inſtance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular deſcription of it. Along one of the cauſeways, ſays he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, compoſed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raiſed about ſix feet. In one of them is conveyed a ſtream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it ſupplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is neceſſary to clean, or repair the former, the ſtream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit paſſes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the cauſeway, through which the ſalt-water of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from

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the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and ſold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. 241, A.

NOTE XXXIV. p. 299.

In the armoury of the royal palace of Madrid are ſhewn ſuits of armour, which are called Montezuma's. They are compoſed of thin lacquered copper-plates. In the opinion of very intelligent judges, they are evidently eaſtern. The forms of the ſilver ornaments upon them, repreſenting dragons, &c. may be conſidered as a confirmation of this. They are infinitely ſuperior, in point of workmanſhip, to any effort of American art. The Spaniards probably received them from the Philippine iſlands. The only unqueſtionable ſpecimen of Mexican art, that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup of very fine gold, which is ſaid to have belonged to Montezuma. It weighs 5 oz. 12 dwt. Three drawings of it were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, June 10, 1765. A man's head is repreſented on this cup. On one ſide the full face, on the other the profile, on the third the back parts of the head. The relievo is ſaid to have been produced by punching the inſide of the cup, ſo as to make the repreſentation of a face on the outſide. The features are groſs, but repreſented with ſome degree of art, and certainly too rude for Spaniſh workmanſhip. This cup was purchaſed by Edward Earl of Orford, while he lay in the harbour of Cadiz with the fleet under his command, and is now in the poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of his grandſon, Lord Archer. I am indebted for this information to my reſpectable and ingenious friend Mr. Barrington. In the ſixth volume of the Archæologia, p. 107, is publiſhed an account of ſome maſks of Terra Cotta, brought from a burying-ground on the American continent, about ſeventy miles from the Britiſh ſettlement on the Moſquito ſhore. They are ſaid to be likeneſſes of chiefs, or other eminent perſons. From the deſcriptions and engravings of them, we have an additional proof of the imperfect ſtate of arts among the Americans.

NOTE XXXV. p. 307.

The learned reader will perceive how much I have been indebted, in this part of my work, to the guidance of the Biſhop of Glouceſter, who has traced the ſucceſſive ſteps by which the human mind advanced in this line of its progreſs, with much erudition, and greater ingenuity. He is the firſt, as far as I know, who formed a rational and conſiſtent theory concerning the various modes of writing practiſed by nations, according to the various degrees of their improvement. Div. Legation of Moſes, iii. 69. &c. Some important obſervations have been added by M. le Preſident de Broſſes, the learned and intelligent author of the Traité de la Formation Mechanique des Langues, tom. i. 295, &c.

As the Mexican paintings are the moſt curious monuments extant of the earlieſt mode of writing, it

it will not be improper to give ſome account of the means by which they were preſerved from the general wreck of every work of art in America, and communicated to the Public. For the moſt early and complete collection of theſe publiſhed by Purchas, we are indebted to the attention of that curious inquirer, Hakluyt. Don Antonio Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, having deemed thoſe paintings a proper preſent for Charles V., the ſhip in which they were ſent to Spain was taken by a French cruiſer, and they came into the poſſeſſion of Thevet, the King's geographer, who, having travelled himſelf into the New World, and deſcribed one of its provinces, was a curious obſerver of whatever tended to illuſtrate the manners of the Americans. On his death, they were purchaſed by Hakluyt, at that time chaplain of the Engliſh ambaſſador to the French court; and, being left by him to Purchas, were publiſhed at the deſire of the learned antiquary Sir Henry Spelman. Purchas, iii. 1065. They were tranſlated from Engliſh into French by Melchizedeck Thevenot, and publiſhed in his collection of voyages, A. D. 1683.

THE ſecond ſpecimen of Mexican picture-writing was publiſhed by Dr. Francis Gemelli Carreri, in two copper-plates. The firſt is a map, or repreſentation of the progreſs of the ancient Mexicans on their firſt arrival in the country, and of the various ſtations in which they ſettled, before they founded the capital of their empire in the lake of Mexico. The ſecond is a Chronological Wheel, or Circle, repreſenting

the manner in which they computed and marked their cycle of fifty-two years. He received both from Don Carlos de Siguenza y Congorra, a diligent collector of ancient Mexican documents. But as it ſeems now to be a received opinion (founded, as far as I know, on no good evidence) that Carreri was never out of Italy, and that his famous *Giro del Mundo* is an account of a fictitious voyage, I have not mentioned theſe paintings in the text. They have, however, manifeſtly the appearance of being Mexican productions, and are allowed to be ſo by Boturini, who was well qualified to determine whether they were genuine or ſuppoſititious. M. Clavigero likewiſe admits them to be genuine paintings of the ancient Mexicans. To me they always appeared to be ſo, though, from my deſire to reſt no part of my narrative upon queſtionable authority, I did not refer to them. The ſtyle of painting in the former is conſiderably more perfect than any other ſpecimen of Mexican deſign; but as the original is ſaid to have been much defaced by time, I ſuſpect that it has been improved by ſome touches from the hand of an European artiſt. Carreri, Churchill, iv. p. 487. The chronological wheel is a juſt delineation of the Mexican mode of computing time, as deſcribed by Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 2. It ſeems to reſemble one which that learned Jeſuit had ſeen; and if it be admitted as a genuine monument, it proves that the Mexicans had artificial, or arbitrary characters, which repreſented ſeveral things beſides numbers. Each month is there repreſented by a ſymbol expreſſive of ſome work or rite peculiar to it.

THE third ſpecimen of Mexican painting was diſcovered by another Italian. In 1736, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci ſet out for New Spain, and was led by ſeveral incidents to ſtudy the language of the Mexicans, and to collect the remains of their hiſtorical monuments. He perſiſted nine years in his reſearches, with the enthuſiaſm of a projector, and the patience of an antiquary. In 1746, he publiſhed at Madrid, *Idea de una Nueva Hiſtoria General de la America Septentrional*, containing an account of the reſult of his inquiries; and he added to it a catalogue of his American Hiſtorical Muſeum, arranged under thirty-ſix different heads. His idea of a New Hiſtory appears to me the work of a whimſical credulous man. But his catalogue of Mexican maps, paintings, tribute-rolls, calendars, &c. is much larger than one could have expected. Unfortunately a ſhip, in which he had ſent a conſiderable part of them to Europe, was taken by an Engliſh privateer during the war between Great Britain and Spain, which commenced in the year 1739; and it is probable that they periſhed by falling into the hands of ignorant captors. Boturini himſelf incurred the diſpleaſure of the Spaniſh court, and died in an hoſpital at Madrid. The hiſtory, of which the *Idea*, &c. was only a *proſpectus*, was never publiſhed. The remainder of his Muſeum ſeems to have been diſperſed. Some part of it came into the poſſeſſion of the preſent Archbiſhop of Toledo, when he was primate of New Spain; and he publiſhed from it that curious tribute-roll which I have mentioned.

THE only other collection of Mexican paintings, as far as I can learn, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. By order of their Imperial Majeſties, I have obtained ſuch a ſpecimen of theſe as I deſired, in eight paintings made with ſo much fidelity, that I am informed the copies could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from the originals. According to a note in this *Codex Mexicanus*, it appears to have been a preſent from Emmanuel King of Portugal to Pope Clement VII., who died A.D. 1533. After paſſing through the hands of ſeveral illuſtrious proprietors, it fell into thoſe of the Cardinal of Saxe-Eiſenach, who preſented it to the Emperor Leopold. Theſe paintings are manifeſtly Mexican, but they are in a ſtyle very different from any of the former. An engraving has been made of one of them, in order to gratify ſuch of my readers, as may deem this an object worthy of their attention. Were it an object of ſufficient importance, it might perhaps be poſſible, by recourſe to the plates of Purchas, and the Archbiſhop of Toledo, as a key, to form plauſible conjectures concerning the meaning of this picture. Many of the figures are evidently ſimilar. A. A. are targets and darts, almoſt in the ſame form with thoſe publiſhed by Purchas, p. 1070, 1071, &c. B. B. are figures of temples, nearly reſembling thoſe in Purchas, p. 1109 and 1113, and in Lorenzana, Plate II. C. is a bale of mantles, or cotton cloths, the figure of which occurs in almoſt every plate of Purchas and Lorenzana. E. E. E. ſeems to be Mexican captains in their war dreſs, the fantaſtic ornaments of which reſemble the figures in Purchas, p. 1110., 1111. 2113. I ſhould ſuppoſe

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this picture to be a tribute-roll, as their mode of noting numbers occurs frequently. D. D. D., &c. According to Boturini, the mode of computation by the number of knots, was known to the Mexicans as well as to the Peruvians, p. 85., and the manner in which the number of units is repreſented in the Mexican paintings in my poſſeſſion ſeems to confirm this opinion. They plainly reſemble a ſtring of knots on a cord or ſlender rope.

Since I publiſhed the former edition, Mr. Waddilove, who is ſtill pleaſed to continue his friendly attention to procure me information, has diſcovered, in the Library of the Eſcurial, a volume in folio, conſiſting of forty ſheets of a kind of paſteboard, each the ſize of a common ſheet of writing paper, with great variety of uncouth and whimſical figures of Mexican painting, in very freſh colours, and with an explanation in Spaniſh to moſt of them. The firſt twenty-two ſheets are the ſigns of the months, days, &c. About the middle of each ſheet are two or more large figures for the month, ſurrounded by the ſigns of the days. The laſt eighteen ſheets are not ſo filled with figures. They ſeem to be ſigns of Deities, and images of various objects. According to this Calendar in the Eſcurial, the Mexican year contained 286 days, divided into 22 months of 13 days. Each day is repreſented by a different ſign, taken from ſome natural object, a ſerpent, a dog, a lizard, a reed, a houſe, &c. The ſigns of days in the Calendar of the Eſcurial are preciſely the ſame with thoſe mentioned by Boturini, Idea, &c. p. 45.

But, if we may give credit to that author, the Mexican year contained 360 days, divided into 18 months of 20 days. The order of days in every month was computed, according to him, firſt by what he calls a *tridecennary* progreſſion of days from one to thirteen, in the ſame manner as in the Calendar of the Eſcurial, and then by a *ſeptenary* progreſſion of days from one to ſeven, making in all twenty. In this Calendar, not only the ſigns which diſtinguiſh each day, but the qualities ſuppoſed to be peculiar to each month, are marked. There are certain weakneſſes which ſeem to accompany the human mind through every ſtage of its progreſs in obſervation and ſcience. Slender as was the knowledge of the Mexicans in aſtronomy, it appears to have been already connected with judicial aſtrology. The fortune and character of perſons born in each month are ſuppoſed to be decided by ſome ſuperior influence predominant at the time of nativity. Hence it is foretold in the Calendar, that all who are born in one month will be rich, in another warlike, in a third luxurious, &c. The paſteboard, or whatever ſubſtance it may be on which the Calendar in the Eſcurial is painted, ſeems, by Mr. Waddilove's deſcription of it, to reſemble nearly that in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In ſeveral particulars, the figures bear ſome likeneſs to thoſe in the plate which I have publiſhed. The figures marked D., which induced me to conjecture that this painting might be a tribute-roll ſimilar to theſe publiſhed by Purchas and the Archbiſhop of Toledo, Mr. Waddilove ſuppoſes to be ſigns of days: and I have ſuch confidence in the accuracy of his

obſervations, as to conclude his opinion to be well-founded. It appears, from the characters in which the explanations of the figures are written, that this curious monument of Mexican art has been obtained, ſoon after the conqueſt of the empire. It is ſingular that it ſhould never have been mentioned by any Spaniſh author.

NOTE XXXVI. p. 309.

THE firſt was called the Prince of the Deathful Lance; the ſecond the Divider of Men; the third the Shedder of Blood; the fourth the Lord of the Dark-houſe. Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 25.

NOTE XXXVII. p. 317.

THE temple of Cholula, which was deemed more holy than any in New Spain, was likewiſe the moſt conſiderable. But it was nothing more than a mount of ſolid earth. According to Torquemada, it was above a quarter of a league in circuit at the baſe, and roſe to the height of forty fathom. Mon. Ind. Lib. iii. c. 19. Even M. Clavigero acknowledges that all the Mexican temples were ſolid ſtructures, or earthen mounts, and of conſequence cannot be conſidered as any evidence of their having made any conſiderable progreſs in the art of building. Clavig. II. 207.

FROM inſpecting various figures of temples in the paintings engraved by Purchas, there ſeems to be ſome reaſon for ſuſpecting, that all their temples were conſtructed in the ſame manner. See Vol. iii. p. 1109, 1110. 1113.

NOTE XXXVIII. p. 319.

NOT only in Tlaſcala, and Tepeaca, but even in Mexico itſelf, the houſes of the people were mere huts built with turf, or mud, or the branches of trees. They were extremely low, and ſlight, and without any furniture but a few earthen veſſels. Like the rudeſt Indians, ſeveral families reſided under the ſame roof, without having any ſeparate apartments. Herrera, Dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. lib. x. c. 22. Dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 23.

NOTE XXXIX. p. 319.

I AM informed by a perſon who reſided long in New Spain, and viſited almoſt every province of it, that there is not, in all the extent of that vaſt empire, any monument, or veſtige of any building more ancient than the conqueſt, nor of any bridge or highway, except ſome remains of the cauſeway from Gaudaloupe to that gate of Mexico by which Cortes entered the city. MS. *penes me.* The author of another account in manuſcript obſerves, "That at this day there does not remain even the ſmalleſt veſtige

veſtige of the exiſtence of any ancient Indian building public or private, either in Mexico or in any province of New Spain. I have travelled, ſays he, through all the countries adjacent to them, viz. New Galicia, New Biſcay, New Mexico, Sonora, Cinaloa, the New Kingdom of Leon, and New Santandero, without having obſerved any monument worth notice, except ſome ruins near an ancient village in the valley *de Caſas Grandes*, in lat. N. 3°. 46'. long. 258°. 24'. from the iſland of Teneriffe, or 460 leagues N. N. W. from Mexico." He deſcribes theſe ruins minutely, and they appear to be the remains of a paltry building of turf and ſtone, plaſtered over with white earth or lime. A miſſionary informed that gentleman, that he had diſcovered the ruins of another edifice ſimilar to the former, about an hundred leagues towards N. W. on the banks of the river St. Pedro. MS. *penes me.*

THESE teſtimonies derive great credit from one circumſtance, that they were not given in ſupport of any particular ſyſtem or theory, but as ſimple anſwers to queries which I had propoſed. It is probable, however, that when theſe gentlemen aſſert, that no ruins or monuments of any ancient work whatever are now to be diſcovered in the Mexican empire, they meant that there were no ſuch ruins or monuments as conveyed any idea of grandeur or magnificence, in the works of its ancient inhabitants. For it appears from the teſtimony of ſeveral Spaniſh authors, that in Otumba, Tlaſcala, Cholula, &c. ſome veſtiges of ancient buildings are

ſtill viſible. Villa Segnor Theatro Amer. p. 143. 308. 353. D. Fran. Ant. Lorenzana, formerly Archbiſhop of Mexico, and now of Toledo, in his introduction to that edition of the Cartas de Relacion of Cortes, which he publiſhed at Mexico, mentions ſome ruins which are ſtill viſible in ſeveral of the towns through which Cortes paſſed in his way to the capital, p. 4, &c. But neither of theſe authors give any deſcription of them, and they ſeem to be ſo very inconſiderable, as to ſhew only that ſome buildings had once been there. The large mount of earth at Cholula, which the Spaniards dignified with the name of temple, ſtill remains, but without any ſteps by which to aſcend, or any facing of ſtone. It appears now like a natural mount, covered with graſs and ſhrubs, and poſſibly it was never any thing more. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 19. I have received a minute deſcription of the remains of a templenear Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco. It is compoſed of large ſtones, fitted to each other as nicely as thoſe in the buildings of the Peruvians, which are hereafter mentioned. At the foundation it forms a ſquare of twenty-five yards; but as it riſes in height, it diminiſhes in extent, not gradually, but by being contracted ſuddenly at regular diſtances, ſo that it muſt have reſembled the figure B. in the plate. It terminated, it is ſaid, in a ſpire.

NOTE

NOTE XL. p. 325.

THE exaggeration of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, with reſpect to the number of human victims ſacrificed in Mexico, appears to be very great. According to Gomara, there was no year in which twenty thouſand human victims were not offered to the Mexican Divinities, and in ſome years they amounted to fifty thouſand. Cron. c. 229. The ſkulls of thoſe unhappy perſons were ranged in order in a building erected for that purpoſe, and two of Cortes's officers who had counted them, informed Gomara that their number was an hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand. Ibid. c. 82. Herrera's account is ſtill more incredible, that the number of victims was ſo great, that five thouſand have been ſacrificed in one day, nay, on ſome occaſions, no leſs than twenty thouſand. Dec. iii. lib. ii. c. 16. Torquemada goes beyond both in extravagance, for he aſſerts, that twenty thouſand children, excluſive of other victims, were ſlaughtered annually. Mon. Ind. lib. vii. c. 21. The moſt reſpectable authority in favour of ſuch high numbers is that of Zumurraga, the firſt Biſhop of Mexico, who, in a letter to the chapter general of his order, A. D. 1631, aſſerts that the Mexicans ſacrificed annually twenty thouſand victims. Davila. Teatro Eccleſ. 126. In oppoſition to all theſe accounts, B. de las Caſas obſerves, that if there had been ſuch an annual waſte of the human ſpecies, the country could never have arrived at that degree of populouſneſs for which it was remarkable when the Spaniards firſt

firſt landed there. This reaſoning is juſt. If the number of victims in all the provinces of New Spain had been ſo great, not only muſt population have been prevented from increaſing, but the human race muſt have been exterminated in a ſhort time. For beſides the waſte of the ſpecies by ſuch numerous ſacrifices, it is obſervable, that wherever the fate of captives taken in war is either certain death or perpetual ſlavery, as men can gain nothing by ſubmitting ſpeedily to an enemy, they always reſiſt to the uttermoſt, and war becomes bloody and deſtructive to the laſt degree. Las Caſas poſitively aſſerts, that the Mexicans never ſacrificed more than fifty or a hundred perſons in a year. See his diſpute with Sepulveda, ſubjoined to his Breviſſima Relacion, p. 105. Cortes does not ſpecify what number of victims was ſacrificed annually, but B. Diaz del Caſtillo relates, that an inquiry having been made, with reſpect to this, by the Franciſcan monks, who were ſent into New Spain immediately after the conqueſt, it was found that about two thouſand five hundred were ſacrificed every year in Mexico. C. 207.

NOTE XLI. p. 327.

It is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that the Peruvian Chronology is not only obſcure, but repugnant to concluſions deduced from the moſt accurate and extenſive obſervations, concerning the time that elapſes during each reign, in any given ſucceſſion of Princes. The medium has been found not to exceed twenty years. According to Acoſta and Garcilaſſo de la Vega,

Vega, Huana Capac, who died about the year 1527, was the twelfth Inca. According to this rule of computing, the duration of the Peruvian monarchy ought not to have been reckoned above two hundred and forty years; but they affirm that it had ſubſiſted four hundred years. Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 19. Vega, lib. i. c. 9. By this account each reign is extended at a medium to thirty-three years, inſtead of twenty, the number aſcertained by Sir Iſaac Newton's obſervations; but ſo imperfect were the Peruvian traditions, that though the total is boldly marked, the number of years in each reign is unknown.

NOTE XLII. p. 335.

Many of the early Spaniſh writers aſſert, that the Peruvians offered human ſacrifices. Xerez, p. 190. Zaratè, lib. i. c. 11. Acoſta, lib. v. c. 19. But Garcilaſſo de la Vega contends, that though this barbarous practice prevailed among their uncivilized anceſtors, it was totally aboliſhed by the Incas, and that no human victim was ever offered in any temple of the Sun. This aſſertion, and the plauſible reaſons with which he confirms it, are ſufficient to refute the Spaniſh writers, whoſe accounts ſeem to be founded entirely upon report, not upon what they themſelves had obſerved. Vega, lib. ii. c. 4. In one of their feſtivals, the Peruvians offered cakes of bread moiſtened with blood drawn from the arms, the eye-brows, and noſes of their children. Id. lib. vii. c. 6. This rite may have been derived from their ancient practice, in their uncivilized ſtate, of ſacrificing human victims.

NOTE

NOTE XLIII. p. 342.

THE Spaniards have adopted both thoſe cuſtoms of the ancient Peruvians. They have preſerved ſome of the aqueducts or canals, made in the days of the Incas, and have made new ones, by which they water every field that they cultivate. Ulloa Voyage, tom. i. 422. 477. They likewiſe continue to uſe *guano*, or the dung of ſea-fowls, as manure. Ulloa gives a deſcription of the almoſt incredible quantity of it in the ſmall iſlands near the coaſt. Ibid. 481.

NOTE XLIV. p. 345.

THE temple of Cayambo, the palace of the Inca at Callo in the plain of Lacatunga, and that of Atun-Cannar, are deſcribed by Ulloa, tom. i. 286, &c., who inſpected them with great care. M. de Condamine, publiſhed a curious memoir concerning the ruins of Atun-Cannar. Mem. de l'Academie de Berlin, A. D. 1746, p. 435. Acoſta deſcribes the ruins of Cuzco, which he had examined. Lib. vi. c. 14. Garcilaſſo, in his uſual ſtyle, gives pompous and confuſed deſcriptions of ſeveral temples, and other public edifices. Lib. iii. c. 1. c. 21. lib. vi. c. 4. Don ——— Zapata, in a large treatiſe concerning Peru, which has not hitherto been publiſhed, communicates ſome information with reſpect to ſeveral monuments of the ancient Peruvians, which have

have not been mentioned by other authors. MS. *penes me*, Articulo xx. Ulloa deſcribes ſome of the ancient Peruvian fortifications, which were likewiſe works of great extent and ſolidity. Tom. i. 391. Three circumſtances ſtruck all thoſe obſervers: the vaſt ſize of the ſtones which the Peruvians employed in ſome of their buildings. Acoſta meaſured one, which was thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and ſix in thickneſs; and yet, he adds, that in the fortreſs at Cuzco, there were ſtones conſiderably larger. It is difficult to conceive how the Peruvians could move theſe, and raiſe them to the height even of twelve feet. The ſecond circumſtance is, the imperfection of the Peruvian art, when applied to working in timber. By the patience and perſeverance natural to Americans, ſtones may be formed into any ſhape, merely by rubbing one againſt another, or by the uſe of hatchets or other inſtruments made of ſtone; but with ſuch rude tools, little progreſs can be made in carpentry. The Peruvians could not mortize two beams together, or give any degree of union or ſtability to any work compoſed of timber. As they could not form a centre, they were totally unacquainted with the uſe of arches in building; nor can the Spaniſh authors conceive how they were able to frame a roof for thoſe ample ſtructures which they raiſed.

THE third circumſtance is a ſtriking proof, which all the monuments of the Peruvians furniſh, of their want of ingenuity and invention, accompanied with patience no leſs aſtoniſhing. None of the ſtones employed

employed in thoſe works were formed into any particular or uniform ſhape, which could render them fit for being compacted together in building. The Indians took them as they fell from the mountains, or were raiſed out of the quarries. Some were ſquare, ſome triangular, ſome convex, ſome concave. Their art and induſtry were employed in joining them together, by forming ſuch hollows in the one, as perfectly correſpond to the projections or riſings in the other. This tedious operation, which might have been ſo eaſily abridged, by adapting the ſurface of the ſtones to each other, either by rubbing, or by their hatchets of copper, would be deemed incredible, if it were not put beyond doubt by inſpecting the remains of thoſe buildings. It gives them a very ſingular appearance to an European eye. There is no regular layer or ſtratum of building, and no one ſtone reſembles another in dimenſions or form. At the ſame time, by the perſevering but ill-directed induſtry of the Indians, they are all joined with that minute nicety which I have mentioned. Ulloa made this obſervation concerning the form of the ſtones in the fortreſs of Atun-Cannar. Voy. i. p. 387. Pineto gives a ſimilar deſcription of the fortreſs of Cuzco, the moſt perfect of all the Peruvian works. Zapata MS. *penes me.* According to M. de Condamine, there were regular ſtrata of building in ſome parts of Atun-Cannar, which he remarks as ſingular, and as a proof of ſome progreſs in improvement.

NOTE